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ABSTRACT

The organization, instruction, and effect of Holocaust instruction at the secondary level in four public school districts--Brookline, Massachusetts; Great Neck, New York; New York City; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania--are investigated. The report consists of five chapters. Chapter 1, on the methodology, discusses how the data were collected through questionnaires and interviews. Chapter 2 contains case studies describing the programs. The four school districts provide many examples of the prospects for Holocaust curricula in various educational settings. Information is provided on the origin, teacher training, rationale, audience, developers, and content organization for each program. Chapter 3 discusses the instruction used in each of the four programs. Themes and goals, perceived effects on students, and the teaching methods used are examined. Chapter 4 describes the effect that the Holocaust education programs had on the students. Chapter 5 contains the conclusions. Overall, students gained new factual information and developed a more comprehensive understanding of the factors accounting for the Holocaust. Results also showed that students' exposure to the Holocaust did not shatter their moral structures or rupture their patterns of judgments. (RM)

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AMERICAN YOUTH AND THE HOLOCAUST:

A Study of Four Major Holocaust Curricula

Mary T. Glynn, Geoffrey Bock

with

Karen C. Cohen

October 15, 1982

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DEDICATED TO

JEFFREY BOYKO

He remembers and understands that others must learn to remember. As in his own life, his devotion and support for this work has grown to match the challenge and difficulty of the task to be done.

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PREFACE

THE CHALLENGE OF TEACHING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

by IRVING GREENBERG,
Director, ZACHOR/NATIONAL JEWISH RESOURCE CENTER

A. THE INADEQUACY OF CATEGORIES: THE LIMITS OF OBJECTIVITY

The dark secret of Holocaust studies is that the event breaks the normal categories of understanding. Like a force field that reorients everything in its range, the Holocaust forces observers to see the inadequacies of standard categories. While exploring the 'Holocaust universe', employing the most useful models that illuminate and guide through important sections of the road, we run into phenomena that shatter the framework of comprehension, forcing the admission that important aspects elude or lie outside the bounds of the explanatory paradigms. One is tempted to say that the better the category the more likely it is to break down.

Perhaps the best analogy to this state of explanation comes from physics. At close to absolute zero--minus 273 degrees Centigrade--there is the phenomenon commonly known as superconductivity. In that state, gas becomes liquid, water runs uphill not downhill, and so on. Perhaps in the Holocaust one has gotten so close to the chilling absolute zero of evil that people respond in ways that are sui generis to that world. Behavior patterns appear to be erratic or contrary, but only when judged from the outside. One can and must correlate these patterns to everyday phenomena

by a process of analysis, analogy and adjusting for the different circumstances. But one must resist the temptation of scholarly 'gleichschaltung', i.e., to smooth away the jagged edges, to wrap the whole matter up in rational academic categories that obscure the elements of the unassimilable surd in this historical event.

Modern scholarship and the academic enterprise are committed to objectivity--in method and theory of knowledge. An extraordinary expansion of knowledge and insight has been the fruit of the paradigm of dispassionate research, empiricism, rationality, abstraction, and generalization. Therefore, there has been strong resistance to the claim that, in dealing with the Holocaust, these models are found wanting. The opposition reflects itself in the long period of neglect of teaching the Holocaust, as well as in the recent criticism of the spread of teaching. Teachers and scholars in Holocaust studies are tempted to softpedal the issue. If we have the wisdom and strength not to evade, we come to recognize the bitter truth, that in this case 'objectivity' is often a false category, implicated in a horror which is difficult to confront. To gain acceptance, academic respectability, and professional historical standing scholars are pressured continually to play the game of academia and of pedagogy, including generalizing, abstracting, or universalizing the subject. Yet, this route is the way to moral and methodological failure in dealing with the tormenting conundrums posed by the Holocaust.

Objectivity is a misleading category in dealing with the Holocaust. The testimony of survivors during and after the Holocaust, which is normally the most reliable source, must be translated and transposed. The survivors' testimony is not only necessarily limited by the survivors' partial view of what happened, it is also 'biased', colored by their own perceived guilt. The survivors themselves, more than any other group, carry around a burden of guilt about the Holocaust. The innocent victims feel guilty that they did not do enough; feel guilty for their loved ones who died. They feel guilty, sometimes crushingly so, for having survived. Yet many murderers, and people in groups that were indifferent or stood idly by, are girded with a sense of innocence. Most of the records and the pictures of the Holocaust were developed by the Nazis and their allies. Although "the camera does not lie" the Nazis took the pictures, chose the subjects, and kept the records for their own purposes. What they left out may be part of their total war on the Jews. Unless one reads the documents with this sensitivity, records can be highly misleading. How many survivors plead guilty to crimes which anybody who enters into the world of the Holocaust knows are not crimes but acts of heroic resistance, frequently involving risk of life? Terrence des Pres (The Survivor, p. 97) points out the contradictions between the overt statement of total rule of war in the camps and the actual behavior, which included many acts

of kindness and human solidarity. This "amounts to a double vision at the heart of their [survivors] testimony." On the other hand, the Nazi records may distort the sitz im leben in the Holocaust universe.

Failure to grasp the two-edged nature of that reality and the frequent reversal of values may lead to teaching the opposite of what was true or what is intended by the teacher. If one does not allow for the tremendous pressure that changes the way people respond in human and historical situations, then a fact presented as a fact is, in reality, a distortion. It may even be--in extremis --a subjective continuation of the Holocaust process. To read a fact merely as a fact is to be like the person who held the camera which recorded the famous picture of a mother holding a child about to be shot by an Einzatzgruppen soldier. To see a soldier shooting a mother that way, and not drop the camera, run up to the soldier and cry, stop! but rather to distance and take the picture is in itself a form of brutality and collaboration. At best, it is to engage in a form of classification which is ancillary to the destruction process. For all that we know, that picture of the mother may have been taken to keep for the museum that the Nazis intended to build in Prague--a museum of the extinct Jewish people. Scholarship can be like that picture.

The failure to experience the facts from within that

world leads students seeing the pictures of the mothers and children to ask: "Why was there no (armed) resistance?", instead of asking the much more accurate question: "How many mothers trudged along to come nearer to the shooting squads because, after twenty-four hours of holding a child screaming for water, the shooting place was a blessed relief?" In the Holocaust, many ethical categories fall back in upon themselves. It is a feat of intellectual and moral courage to admit and not evade this fact.

The objectivity model raises another danger. The presence of the Holocaust, its effect as a moral force, is still very powerful. The model was influencing Idi Amin when he said that Hitler had failed because he had not killed all the Jews. The Holocaust teaching of evil hatred toward the Jews continues to operate and to educate and inspire evildoers by example. This continuing impact of the Holocaust paradigm is a fundamental part of the problem of teaching the Holocaust. Studying how women and children were shot by Einsatzgruppen, by the thousands every day, or reading how children were flung alive into crematoria, makes the possibility of such a happening again more credible. Once the initial shock wears off, the actions are no longer without precedent--then, on a certain psychological level, this behavior is more acceptable even to those who study in order to prevent and protest.

The deeper danger is that all human beings are affected by examples. One of the most devastating things about studying the Holocaust is the post facto realization that certain norms which supposedly existed in modern culture which should rule out such phenomena in fact proved ineffective. These norms include: liberalism, humanitarianism, universal rights, the rule of law, taboos against killing, respect for women and children, etc. The norms have been broken so bluntly and so openly, that the break reduces the taboos, i.e., those dimensions of fear and of trembling, with which most human beings approach the 'normal' crimes which they commit--let alone the crime of mass murder and degradation. Part of the danger in teaching about the Holocaust and in being historical and objective--as a scholar should be--is that in confronting this event, one will dodge those side effects. Studying objectively becomes a way of numbing the student and demonstrating the awful events which then become more routine, therefore more acceptable and more doable.

This critique of objectivity should not be confused with mystification. Professor Yehuda Bauer (in The Holocaust in Historical Perspective) has expressed a legitimate concern that the Holocaust will be placed on a pedestal, declared to be so unique as to be beyond comprehension. The price of such an approach could well be lowering of standards of judgement. This would allow exaggeration and

legend to overgrow the facts. Ultimately, the credibility of the entire event will be undermined by hagiography. As it is, the human mind strains to escape from the horror and pain of the Holocaust. Once some accepted fact is undermined by the discovery that it is a legend, then the entire account of the Holocaust will be jeopardized. Another dangerous outcome could be an inability to apply the lessons of the event to any other situation--which would make the whole catastrophe horrible but humanly irrelevant. If one talks of Auschwitz as a totally other planet, there is no way in which humans can really relate to it or deal with it. Yet the event must be dealt with. That is the only hope to prevent a recurrence.

The recognition of the limits of objectivity does not represent the abandonment of the principle as much as its demythologization. Objectivity is a special, not a universal, principle in dealing with the Holocaust. This category copes with many, but not all, aspects of the event. The need to enter into the world of the Holocaust and to 'experience' it from within can not be used to drop the obligation to incorporate objectivity and the facts in attempting to deal with the Holocaust. A surrender to subjectivity, however well intentioned, would equally be a methodological and moral failure. To embellish such horror is both to betray scholarship and to be guilty of not taking suffering seriously. So as scholars and teachers, we are condemned to use categories

that are failures. There is no easy escape. As long as we know their limits, the categories of scholarship are useful and necessary failures. One comes to realize that, in fact, only categories that fail are really adequate to the situation. To do integral work, therefore, one has to come to grips with 'superconductivity' and be willing to let it challenge or disrupt teaching, even as we try to contain it for the sake of objective truth. Dealing objectively with the Holocaust includes incorporating powerful subjective effects and responses needed from both teachers and students.

All these paradoxes are topped by another dialectical principle. If the teacher drops these inadequate categories, allows the indulgence of piety vis-a-vis the victims, allows him/herself to scream or to indulge in the kind of propaganda that all feel an urge to do after dealing with these facts, then the teacher fails even more miserably. An ever present danger in teaching the Holocaust is that one wants to shout. As this study shows, the Holocaust is being domesticated through being taught. This is part of the tension in functioning as a teacher in a course on the Holocaust. But one must be absolutely disciplined and resist the temptation to shout. If not, the process is inexorable. When you do shout, at first you will touch. Then you will brutalize, because it will become a course in killing Jews. Then you will numb, because out of self-protection or out of hardening,

the student will end up being indifferent. Finally, most devastating of all, you will bore. Read the Einsatzgruppen reports and trials. After three, four, five months of shooting women and children every day--with no resistance--they became bored. So, they drank heavily--or they looked for variations that might keep things interesting...

B. TO ENTER THE HOLOCAUST UNIVERSE

To teach about the Holocaust is to walk a narrow ridge. It involves the constant torment of trying to recognize and respect the facts without preaching. It involves trying, more than anything else, to prevent a recurrence--yet not allowing the subject to become a propaganda instrument--however well intentioned. If there is one motive more than any other that drives people into this field, it is the drive to insure that it will "never again" happen--and not just for Jews. Teachers must be honest in articulating and admitting their goals in teaching the subject. Within that framework, however, the one objective baseline, the one ultimate criterion of achievement, is a subjective one. The goal is to achieve empathy in the student, to make consciousness of the Holocaust a 'living' experience. If a teacher can enable the student --and the teacher--to enter into that world, however briefly, and to be emotionally as well as intellectually shattered by entering that world, that is the fundamental achievement.

Without entering l'univers concentrationnaire, it is so easy to ask the question of resistance. Again, take that mother in the picture, holding the child. Was she to drop the child, and with her bare hands take away the bayonet and shoot the soldier? The question is answered when one stands in the mother's shoes.

The question is answered when one hears the story of Abba Kovner, who became one of the great heroes of the Jewish resistance. Kovner 'abandoned' his mother to go into the forest to wage war. His last memory of his mother is her pleading with him not to leave her. Many times, Kovner gets introduced as a hero. Kovner tells that when they make those long introductions, he sits there saying to himself: Am I the hero they are describing, or am I not the scoundrel who abandoned his own mother, and let her die in a fate that I can only imagine?

Inside the Holocaust universe, the heroism of just living emerges in bold relief. A mother's resistance role becomes self-evident--it is going scrounging for milk every day and, notwithstanding the cost to health, self-esteem and her own food supply, not abandoning the child. A thousand facts leap into focus: a brother with work papers voluntarily going to the Umschlagplatz to look after his parents and younger sister; a brother about to jump from the train when the conviction that something terrible was coming overcame the parents and they insisted he jump--but holding back when the sister pleaded not to be left alone. Teachers educating little

children for a future life in Israel; performances of Yiddish theater; 600 minyanim (prayer groups) meeting illegally every Shabbat in the Warsaw Ghetto, according to Emanuel Ringelblum's reports. Tenants' committees, smuggling food, organized sanitation, chevra kadishas (burial societies) to respectfully bury the dead. Nor is this list intended to cover up the alternate list: children abandoned and hungry in the Warsaw Ghetto; the rise of the underworld, Jewish police collaboration. Recall the bitter words of Hillel Zeitlin (a religious writer of saintly character and great force): "Corruption, demoralization and thievery in the ghetto are terrible... Evil traits and base instincts are now revealed in all their nakedness." (Lucy Dawidowicz, A Holocaust Reader, p. 228.) (Keep in mind that Zeitlin's words are those of a prophet--the intensity of criticism reflects the high standards of expectations more than objective facts. Recall the principle that the 'guilty' are innocent.)

Inside the Holocaust universe, there is no need to whitewash or romanticize. The complexity of human life, the nobility and baseness of human nature, the reducibility of human spirit but the ultimate irreducibility of some kernel of it--all speak for themselves. This is why some of the fundamental issues in Holocaust studies remain with questions, not answers. One must be on guard against sentimentality. Not every Jew died in the Warsaw Ghetto as a heroic fighter; not every Jew was a pious

Chasid dancing happily before the Nazis came. In the Holocaust, one saw human nature at its noblest and, of course, in its most terrifying and basest forms. The camps had the enormous power to shift and reprogram human behavior and human character. One can not ignore the overwhelming impact of such conditions. It is important to see how survival is relative, and how the capacity to save some small area of humanness is the key to moral survival. One of the early and important moral maturation experiences of students facing the Holocaust is to discover that those who were purists, those who refused to make any concession to the moral degradation of the camps, died and gave the Nazis a victory. The only way one could be moral was to accept some fracturing of previous standards --of hygiene, of personal behavior, and indeed of morality. The truly moral people had the courage to fracture without yielding totally. This insight offers a far more real moral code and basis for students' own behavior--as Americans, as democratic citizens, or as family people-- than any of the inspirational stories one can give them about saints from the Holocaust. Here again, survivor testimony is fundamental in teaching the Holocaust. There is no teaching that compares in insight to hearing from someone who lived through it--particularly one who doesn't need to 'cover', or give an inspirational message, but is willing to tell the truth that is possible to tell.

Students should encounter the life that was lived under

the Nazis--and not just the death. A special effort should be made to know at least one life as a particular life, as part of that reality. There was incredible solidarity among the victims. There were self-help groups, tenant committees, kibbutzim and other forms of Jewish self-help. Incredibly, a people without soap, without heat, kept very low rates of plague and of sickness, because of the tremendous amount of self-policing and voluntary help. The daily soup kitchens kept thousands alive for days--or years. Yet the breakdown in solidarity of some people must be reported with the same breadth and the same honesty.

On the one hand, one must tell of the mothers who took the milk out of their own mouths to feed their children. Family life continued; children were educated; plays were produced; cultural lectures were held. On the other hand, the reports of the wandering packs of abandoned children must be confronted. Let students ask themselves --what - as a mother or father - they would have done. It was that kind of survival situation in which a child would not live anyway. Let the student understand the heroism of those who had to let their child go out and be a smuggler even though that meant that many children never came back. Let the student and the teacher confront all the testimonies and not give easy answers or quick encouragement or inspiration.

Of course, these special factors make documents so

terribly important in Holocaust studies. Similarly, the testimony of witnesses and survivors is crucial. Ultimately, what happened speaks best for itself. No matter how good the teacher, no matter how empathetic, there is nothing one could say or teach that begins to compare with the reality of entering that world itself. This makes films very important in this teaching. If the empathy is achieved, then much else falls into place.

For the same reason, these studies must build in discussion and a chance to react. If there is no discussion, then the teacher is guilty of brutalization. One must steel one's self and have the courage not to give it all over--allow the students a chance to talk. Without facts, with distorted facts--or with an overload of facts, one is guilty of disrespect both for what happened and for the students. One is tempted to say to the teacher: Resist the Holocaust, respect a student today. This means not to brainwash, to be aware of the loss of credibility that occurs when one tampers with emotions--or gives facts but does not give people a chance to deal with them.

* * * *

C. MOTIVES AND MESSAGES

Holocaust Studies are a relatively recent phenomenon in the United States. Typically, there is a high degree of teacher or student initiative in introducing the course into the curriculum. Most teachers are self-taught; few

have had professional training in this field. All this tends to make the field more innovative and more experimental. Teachers use a higher level of audio-visual material than in typical courses. The strongest teacher motives, especially among Jews and/or survivors seem to be the desire to preserve the memory of the victims and the determination to insure that it will never happen again.

Many if not most teachers in Holocaust education in the United States are moved by a strong urgency to confront the issues of stereotyping and prejudice after encounter with the record of the Holocaust. Stereotype and prejudice made possible the kind of open-ended moral cruelty evidenced in the Holocaust. The preceding traditions of negative images and categorizing the Jews as "other" made them so vulnerable. It is obvious that the same mental images can work to isolate blacks and yellow people and any other group. But the very urge to fight this phenomenon easily turns teaching into propaganda. After they had killed the Jews, the Nazis utilized the dead bodies for ashes, fertilizer, and even soap. The moral gorge rises at the thought that the dead shall now be exploited for propaganda purposes. It is propaganda, even if it is in service of good things. This must be said as harshly as possible, because otherwise good intentions tempt educators not to face the issue. This does not mean that teachers cannot draw any conclusions from the Holocaust. Rather, the motives should be articulated and the complexity of the

facts allowed to emerge. People's consciousness is changed by the impact of the event. The moral response evoked by encounter with the Holocaust can make a major difference in the attitudes of society.

One such effect was a landmark in awareness of the Holocaust in the summer of 1979. The then-Vice President of the United States spoke in Geneva at an international conference on the Boat People, convened by the American government. He acknowledged that, in 1938, at the Evian Conference, the world, and the United States in particular, had failed to respond adequately to the plight of [Jewish] refugees from Nazism. He announced that America would take in 250,000 boat people as expression of its commitment to try to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy. The rest of the nations at the conference pledged to take in an additional number of boat people to a total of 2,000,000. It was clear that the cumulative impact of raised consciousness of the Holocaust had generated a climate of opinion and government attitude that saved 2,000,000 from being condemned to rot in a no-man's land and gave them a chance for new lives of dignity.

Yet this success does not legitimate turning Holocaust studies into political propaganda. On the contrary, if teachers resort to special pleading, Holocaust studies will turn into faddishness and ultimately will fail. There is a self-correcting mechanism operating here. The material is so powerful that people respond more subtly and deeply. We underestimate how much people recognize when they are being manipulated in this area and quickly shut off the flow of response.

Other powerful insights can be explored in the course of Holocaust studies. One is the impact of polarization on a democratic society. How did an outsider, like Hitler--marginal, foreign (Austrian)--become an insider? This is one of the critical, exemplary areas of Holocaust study. Study of the rise of Nazism is an exploration of what kind of stress breaks down normal political and social behavior. The whole American experience in the late 1960s with Vietnam and the counterculture would have come out differently, and with far less backlash, if people had had the courage and knowledge to experience and to learn from the Holocaust what polarization means. Even the people who felt radicalization was needed might have realized that the effort could well lead to the opposite effect. One begins to understand the real impact of the Holocaust as a kind of a moral, political illumination. One comes to the realization that one of the great attractions of democracy is that although evils exist in this system, there are built-in checks against the metastasis of the bad--or the good--checks that are absent in dictatorships. One suddenly appreciates the incredible force of Winston Churchill's classic comment that democracy is the worst form of government--except for all the others.

Still another central theme is the role of the bystanders. An outstanding book which I believe has not received its due is Helen Fein's Accounting for Genocide

(New York: Free Press, 1979). It is an extraordinary, comparative study; a good example of how methodology properly applied can make a big difference. Instead of giving us anecdotal material or a pietistic version--for or against bystanders--or even a one-country study, Dr. Fein has attempted to systematically compare the percentage of Jews who survived in different countries. Why does the Jewish survival rate range from 95% in Denmark to less than 5% in Lithuania and 10% in Poland?

To summarize it in one sentence, the book shows that Jewish behavior has almost nothing to do with survival rates overall. Fighting did not save Jews. If anything, fighting guaranteed their death, because the Nazis brought up more forces to destroy the armed revolts. This is why armed resistance by Jews never starts until the last round, by which time Nazis have killed most of the Jews already. The remnant know they are going to die in any event. The decision to fight is a choice of how to die.

Dr. Fein shows clearly that the key to the survival rates is the reaction of the bystanders. Fein's book shows that in Hungary, France, Denmark, and Bulgaria--a variety of national Christian churches played a role in saving Jews. The refusal of the Church to allow Jews to be segregated outside the universe of moral responsibility of the nation was decisive in preventing the final solution. Nor does this discovery exculpate the Church's silence in other situations. The more one realizes the power of the

Church's solidarity, the more devastating is the realization of the impact of the silence of Pius XII or of the German church.

Many of the same issues come up in dealing with the indifference of the Allies. Similar explorations can be undertaken of the behavior of American Jewry and of the Jewish Yishuv (community) in Palestine. The most frequent moral decision people have to make in their lifetimes is not whether to play the role of aggressor or of victim, but what kind of bystander's role will they play.

The most troubling implication of this study, American Youth and the Holocaust, is that many teachers are omitting all treatment of the world that was before the event. A culture was destroyed, not just millions of lives. If one does not in some way confront the reality of the whole human complex that was destroyed, beyond individuals, one has really failed to understand what happened in the Holocaust. The Holocaust is the destruction of a culture, of a history, of a set of norms. European Jewry had several Jewish ecosystems within its world. Eastern Europe had one of the richest, extraordinarily varied clusters of Jewish life, religion, and culture in the millennial history of the Jews. Western Europe--despite decline and erosion--was engaged in an extraordinary symbiotic interaction with modern culture.

European Jewry was a sophisticated, mixed community that incorporated everything from assimilating Jews--

including Jewish converts to Christianity who were totally assimilated but were forced into the Warsaw Ghetto against their will--to highly educated Western Jews, to Chasidic Jews of the most ultra-Orthodox, pre-modern status. One must have some sense of the enormous range of the people. They were human, some very close to our lifestyle, some very far. Without this particularity, one is abstracting this terrible event--and failing to grasp the central motive of the Nazis.

Failure to explore this aspect means that the student knows certain atrocity facts, but lacks some sense of the significance of the destruction. It is like studying ecology, knowing this element is disturbed and that element is wrong--but failing to see the total cluster of relationships in the world that we live in. One suspects that part of the omission is the lack of knowledge of the world of the victims. Equally troubling is the suspicion that the rush to generalize and abstract reflects the desire to distill unambiguous moral messages to the student--this is the stuff of propaganda. One fears that the drive to universalize may reflect the desire to get into the curriculum. It is always easier, politically, for a 'universal' theme to get acceptance in the public school than a 'particularist' theme. But the price of such universalization is the destruction of what actually happened in the Holocaust; in that catastrophe, a particular group was singled out for total destruction.

In a way, this blurring of the particular fate of the victim is a continuation of the denial of their special treatment. During the war, this denial enabled the Allies not to respond to the unfolding genocide; after the war, it enabled the Russians to suppress the memory of the victims under a universalist cover--as at Babi Yar.

D. ANALOGY, APPLICATION, IDENTITY

Finally, in teaching about the Holocaust, one must sort out the issue of analogies, applications, and identities. The Holocaust was so total in its nature (a decision to kill every single Jew everywhere) and so extreme in its methods that many scholars consider it to be unique. Accordingly, some argue that no analogies should be made with it or to it--for in this analogy making, the unique nature of the Holocaust is eroded or tacitly undercut. My own judgement is that the extreme application of this logic would render the Holocaust a moral solipsism of no significance for others, with no implications, and no possible lessons that may help prevent a recurrence.

Teaching must avoid neatly explaining, categorizing, and applying the Holocaust with sterilized and homogenized beneficial lessons for all. On the other hand, fully recognizing the terrifying magnitude and uniqueness of the Holocaust, properly equilibrated analogies may be drawn which illuminate other situations without domesticating the baffling, terror-filled surd of the Holocaust. The key is precision and seriousmindedness in drawing

analogies so as not to poison all distinctions. There are important analogies to the Holocaust to be drawn--the Armenian massacre in the twentieth century, the impact of slavery on blacks, and so on.

Analogies are essential for learning purposes and to enable potential victims to size up dangerous situations in order to protect themselves. There is too much force available to potential oppressors, so potential victims must be helped to develop their own power lest they depend exclusively on the good will of good people who have many other interests and considerations. Nevertheless, if applications of Holocaust lessons are made cheaply, one destroys all differences.

In the 1960s and 1970s, there were people who talked of America as if it were the worst form of Nazi concentration camp. This was a shameful misuse of the Holocaust. Such rhetoric made every report of injustice or scattered act of anti-Semitism sound like Nazism was around the corner. It served to break down all distinctions. Ultimately, such talk undercut democracy and encouraged the spread of new totalitarianism in the world.

The danger of covert claims of superior Jewish comparative suffering is also real. This approach is particularly dangerous because it focuses the definition of Jewish excellence or chosenness on Jewish victimization by hatred. This emphasis runs the risk of making the fact of being hated the central role of Jews. This is surely false. Anti-Semitism is the problem of the hater;

the objective behavior of the victim is almost irrelevant. Groups that hated Jews had in common a fear or resentment of difference, an anger at the Jewish testimony to an infinite God or that redemption had not yet come--which challenged the absolute quality of their own belief. A focus on the absolute quality of Jewish suffering risks communicating a message that Jews want or deserve that distinction of being the greatest sufferers.--It may be interpreted by the sufferers as a signal that they are to blame for their own suffering. The very fact of their losses often makes the victims begin to feel something is wrong with them.

Yet, the survivors have forced us not to escape into the easy generalization. They force us to see that, in fact, Jews were killed out of a solitary and total fate. When the first warnings were issued to the Nazis in World War II about their atrocities against the Jews, the warnings were generalized--they were against civilian atrocities. Initially, the Allies declined to name the Jews as Jews. The Allied governments thought that specifying the Jews would turn World War II into a 'Jewish war' in the eyes of the masses. They feared a surge in anti-Semitism. However, this use of generalized language was an evasion--all the more dishonest for yielding to anti-Semitism instead of fighting it. We now know that the Nazis read the failure to identify Jews as Jews as a signal of indifference.

The ultimate conclusion is that since Jews and non-Jews were not as one in death, it is too late for them to be as one in memory. Yet since the humanity which impels us to remember and the compassion which seeks to prevent a recurrence are inclusive, it is important that all victims be remembered.

There are so many warnings and dangers in this account of educating about the Holocaust that there is the risk of frightening people away, of communicating a message that "no one else need apply." Therefore, it is imperative to add that, on the contrary, no topic demands--or deserves--more effort, more subtle balancing, more iron discipline, more humility in the face of the limitations of categories. In teaching about it, one is dealing with a turning point--a tragic, regrettable, terrible but real turning point. There are few more honorable or worthy tasks. Confronting this event will change the basic paradigm of human culture and the understanding of humanness. The corollary of this accolade is that, having done that, one must be able to admit failure in doing it. Teaching the Holocaust demands incredible intestinal fortitude. Teachers must have the chutzpa not only to take up all the risks of such teaching, and to do so within the limit of a course--in the public schools, it is typically not even a course, but a week, or a day. It takes courage to admit that one is guilty because one is willing to do this, to recognize that often

in the best efforts there is an inescapable cheapening, to recognize the missing ingredients--yet to know that if I did not do this, I would be even more guilty. Silence, oblivion, evil have been denied their victory by the thousands of teachers and scholars who chose the guilt of caring enough to teach the impossible. If one comes to accept the guilt, one finds the strength to avoid pure--or cheap--emotionalism and yet to be willing to confront subjectivity in its fullest.

The Holocaust was made possible by some of the greatest technological and bureaucratic advances of modern culture. This is the compliment which totalitarianism pays to democracy: there are no exceptions. It is the characteristic mode of the categories of this culture: there are no exceptions. And of course, the first time is the hardest. So we have a glimpse into the destructive capabilities of this civilization.

Now we know that the demonic capacity of this culture is directly related to its greatest achievements. Individualism and anomie, self-expression and surrender to mass movements, productivity and overwhelming power, objectivity and value-free behavior are all closely related and dialectically in tension. The renewal of values, the self-criticism, the shake-up of assumptions needed to overcome this threat will be the end or the rebirth of modern culture. The willingness--and the privilege--of playing a role in this historic moment

through teaching about the Holocaust is the blessing and the curse of this pedagogical task. The magnitude of death and of life force in this culture and in human nature has never been clearer than after the Holocaust. To take up the task is to choose life.

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CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY

The President's Commission on the Holocaust concluded that "the study of the Holocaust should become a part of the curriculum in every school system throughout the country." Holocaust education is increasingly seen as vital to Americans' understanding of the nature of prejudice, the consequences of totalitarianism and the reality of genocide in the twentieth century. Many school districts are introducing material about the Holocaust at the secondary school level. But all involved scholars, educators, and concerned laypeople alike must squarely confront the basic issue of what the next generation should know about the Holocaust and how best to teach it. The task is quite difficult. This study, we hope, will begin to provide some answers by focusing on exemplary instances of Holocaust curricula in the United States.

We shall investigate the organization, instruction and effect of Holocaust instruction in four public school districts: Brookline, MA; Great Neck, NY; New York City; and Philadelphia. These four districts were among the first to develop Holocaust curricula in America and had well developed programs in progress when we conducted our research (1979-1981). They provide abundant instances of

the prospects for Holocaust curricula in various educational settings.*

Teaching and learning about the Holocaust is a complete phenomenon. Curriculum developers prepare curricula on the Holocaust in consultation with Holocaust scholars, and/or clergy in their own communities. They organize material related to the Holocaust in terms of their own understanding of events, their vision of the course, and their sensitivity to teachers' needs and students' concerns. For their part, teachers must select from the range of topics provided in the curriculum, combining new information with long-standing knowledge and experience. They must interpret for students what the curriculum developers have prepared, and what the Holocaust scholars have said. Students in turn study what their teachers ask them to learn, and what they find of interest in terms of their own lives and experiences. Their learning is both cognitive and non-cognitive: acquiring new factual knowledge and understanding personal values,

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*A fifth district with extensive experience, Great Barrington, MA, decided not to participate in this study because it had recently completed its own assessment of their Holocaust curriculum. These results are reported in Roselle Klisen Chartock, An Executive Study of a Unit Based on the Holocaust: Implications for Design of Interdisciplinary Curricula, doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Massachusetts, 1979.

individual choices and moral issues in new and different ways. Curriculum developers, teachers and students all have different perspectives on the meaning of the Holocaust and the consequences of Holocaust education.

Therefore we shall focus not only on exemplary instances of Holocaust education but on the various perspectives of the teaching and learning processes. Our objective is to compare and contrast what curriculum developers claim they are trying to teach, with what teachers say they are able to teach, with what students themselves report learning from the material and experience. While there are many common themes, all these groups often perceive the same information differently.

Developing a strategy to document the results of curriculum efforts in individual school districts and describing the multiple perceptions of instructors and learners alike required a number of steps. At specific points throughout this assessment process the analysis of results from one stage influenced the development of the next, as we sought to capitalize on the expertise and insights of many people involved in Holocaust education.

Before beginning to collect data, we first had to establish an informal framework for the study. We convinced a national advisory board, composed of educators, historians, philosophers and social scientists to identify

the critical factors to be addressed through the series of case studies.* The board helped to develop appropriate criteria for comparing curricula so that:

- The structure fit students' cognitive levels, the material be developmentally appropriate, and teachers be adequately prepared;

- The content impress on students the uniqueness of the Holocaust while relating it in a meaningful way to other historical events and to students' personal concerns;

- The results help students develop greater moral sensitivities to human dilemmas, greater awareness of human behavior in individual and group settings, and greater knowledge of both the function and disfunction of modern political systems.

The board went on to recommend that a comparative assessment should consider each curriculum in terms of its own goals and objectives, rather than a priori standards established by external authorities.

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*A list of advisory board members is provided in Appendix A.

Next we developed information about the background and purposes of individual curricula and the educational practices in each district by:

- Reviewing in detail the formal curriculum document in light of criteria suggested by the national advisory board.

- Conducting telephone or face-to-face interviews with all of the key educators and lay people involved in the curricula development process. Holocaust curricula were developed for different reasons in each district. The number of people involved in launching each project and their specific roles varied.

- Conducting telephone interviews with a representative number of teachers extensively involved in Holocaust education. We wanted to find the "best instances" of Holocaust teaching in each district; so we asked the curriculum developers or school administrators to suggest the names of outstanding teachers.

On the basis of these results we were able to determine who were involved in Holocaust education, and what teachers and educators considered important to teach

and what they thought students should be and would be learning.

These results were critical to examining the impact of Holocaust instruction on students themselves. We realized that no single measure or set of measures could adequately describe how students would react to learning about the Holocaust. We decided we would have to look for various themes and impressions in different ways:

- Some relatively structured, through administering a short survey before the unit on the Holocaust and then again at the end of the unit;
- Some open-ended, in-depth small group interviews;
- Some relatively spontaneous and unstructured interviews asking students to describe their own reactions to the Holocaust, through whatever medium they felt most comfortable using (writing, drawing, so forth).

Again we sought to document the wide range of reactions and the diverse effects learning about the Holocaust have on students. We examined intensively the impact of Holocaust education in a limited number of classes in each district.

In short, we have focused on a "best case" analysis of Holocaust education in four school districts. This means that what we shall describe below may not necessarily be typical of Holocaust education in general, but it is indicative of the range of responses, reactions and effects in exemplary situations.

CHAPTER II

CURRICULA ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Webster's Dictionary offers the following definition of holocaust: (1) burnt offering; (2) complete destruction of people or animals by fire. But contemporary literature offers a whole raft of differing definitions: the Jewish catastrophe, Hitler's Final Solution, genocide, the unthinkable, the Inferno, the incomparable crime, the European tragedy, and the war against the Jews. Because of the scope of the subject and the unique horror and brutality of its content perhaps high school educators may be forgiven for waiting thirty years before trying to incorporate this piece of human history into the curriculum. The event is so large, so unsettling, so challenging to many of the institutions, both national and cultural, in which we have invested so much, that that we have begun to address it all speaks at least somewhat well for the educational establishment. With regard to the Holocaust, educators find themselves in the difficult position of facing a phenomenon too big to ignore, too alive to bury, and too hot to handle. So, cautiously -- because professional integrity demanded it -- teachers, administrators, and curriculum developers began pilot units and experimental

courses, usually in the area of social studies, whose content was the Holocaust.

In many ways, the Holocaust is like a mountain the true dimensions of which can be seen only at a distance. Up too close, neither shape, size nor configuration is possible to assess. As time passes and we get some distance from the events of the Second World War, we see that the Holocaust indeed surpasses all other events of that catastrophic time. It casts shadows not only in history and sociology but also in psychology, religion, and government. There is not a segment of our national, political or cultural life that in some way does not fall under its influence. But unlike other historical phenomena, distance does not grant us detachment. The Holocaust forty years later is still very alive; not only living in the lives of its human survivors who are still among us bearing the indelible marks, scars and losses of their experience, but also alive in human conscience, particularly human academic conscience, as more and more serious scholars turn to this phenomenon and attempt in the light of their various disciplines to study it, categorize it, and mine its essential lessons.

In the development of this material for secondary schools, the same question keeps surfacing: How do we organize the concepts so that high school students can

analyze, interpret, and eventually relate this material to their own lives and into their own world?

While it is true this subject is a chapter in history which we have a moral responsibility to explore and question, a case can be made that this chapter has a unique importance, or as Henry Feingold would say, "a special historical valence." Insofar as it is important for all of the inhabitants of this planet to understand the potential of nuclear power because it has such world threatening capabilities, it can be said that the mind-set that devised the Holocaust, the technological apparatus that carried it out, the human ability to bifurcate attention so that life could go on as normal for most people while these atrocities were public knowledge, these things can have equally the potential for catastrophic disaster as does nuclear warfare. As such, a case could be made that the Holocaust, its causes, its history, its effect, its resonances in contemporary times not only should be included in every high school curriculum but should have a privileged place of emphasis.

Although teachers of social studies and other disciplines are not involved in teaching values explicitly, there are certain behavior patterns that we consider desirable in our students. Consciously or not, most teachers

seek to instill in their students respect for human life, respect for learning, the need to question and seek answers and respect for the individual students themselves. All of these objectives are bound up in the teaching of this controversial and often unsettling material. While these objectives cannot be easily measured, especially since response may be hidden or slow in coming, they will be among the most important objectives behind this kind of instruction. While the teacher's objectives differ from one curriculum to another, several include common goals:

(1) to provide the tools, books, skills and ideas in an open atmosphere in which to explore the period of the Holocaust and its many interpretations;

(2) to assist students in probing the complexities of human beings' behavior under conditions of stress;

(3) to organize the materials and concepts dealing with the Holocaust so the student might apply the concepts to their own lives and time as well as to other historical periods;

(4) to provide the students with the tools for decision making through presentation of diverse

interpretations of the Holocaust;

(5) to help students develop skills in communicating their ideas of the concepts, such as skills in writing, discussion, development of hypotheses and projects of their own choice;

(6) to measure the change in students' attitudes and comprehension through the use of an evaluative technique.

(Chartock, 1979)

Holocaust curricula for students in public schools have been developed over the last six to eight years. This project includes four curricula which have been developed beyond the pilot stage, are already integrated into the school system and may have been in place long enough to be assessed and evaluated:

(1) Facing History and Ourselves - Holocaust and Human Behavior, Brookline School System, Brookline, Massachusetts, 1978.

(2) Social Studies - Holocaust Curriculum, Great Neck Public Schools, Great Neck, New York, 1976.

(3) The Holocaust, A Study of Genocide, Board of Education of the City of New York, New York, 1979.

(4) The Holocaust - A Teacher Resource, The School District of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa., 1979.

Information for ordering these curricula is given in Appendix B.

2.0 FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES
BROOKLINE MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL SYSTEM

2.1 Origin

Facing History and Ourselves began as a project in 1976 with the collaboration of two social studies teachers, Margot Stern Strom and William Parsons. They sensed a real gap in the presentation of history and wanted to incorporate the history of the Holocaust into junior high school classes. Finding no curriculum materials or guidelines available they realized they would have to prepare their own. Facing History and Ourselves was first developed as an eight-to-ten-week unit within the Social Studies curriculum of the eighth grade. It was since been adapted for inclusion in art, History, English and Law classes in high school settings.

2.2 Teacher Training

In 1977 the curriculum developers received a Title IV-B grant under Teacher Training Development, Curriculum

Development and Dissemination. They then began teacher training workshops which included not only social studies educators but also personnel from art, guidance, library science and literature.

The teacher workshops are of two types: awareness workshops and teacher training workshops. During the summer, week-long workshops introduce teachers to the wide range of materials for Holocaust education. In-service workshops during the school year provide shorter opportunities for teachers to share experiences and insights.

The curriculum is now recognized by the Federal Department of Education and has been admitted to the National Diffusion Network.

2.3 Rationale

Students need a framework within which to study and analyze questions related to atrocities -- questions of decision making, conflict resolution, justice, stereotyping, prejudice, leadership, power, human behavior, government responsibility, citizenship, obedience, and survival. By studying the roles and responsibilities of individuals within a society, students grapple with universal questions of freedom, law, justice and responsibilities of individuals within a society. The lesson plans require

students to make judgments on both a moral and legal level. Finally, the activities stimulate students to think about their daily lives and the consequences of their activities.

2.4 Audience

The course is intended for students in the eighth grade social studies program. The detailed unit could extend from eight to ten weeks. Because of the abundance of materials and activities, teachers can be flexible in selecting materials appropriate to the reading level of individual students and to their academic and emotional needs.

2.5 Developers

This guide is basically the work of the two social studies teachers who wrote the original draft in 1976. That draft was piloted in two schools in the fall of 1976. As a result of this experience and working with other teachers, administrators, college professors, and a child psychiatrist, modifications were made. An integral part of the development and implementation of this program is a strong staff development component.

2.6 Program

Holocaust teaching is education for tolerance--tolerance for Jews and non-Jews--against intolerance toward racial, or religious, or policial, or national groups, or any group. The Holocaust is taught as the ultimate climax of a gradual process of dehumanization. In this course, materials and methods stimulate students to recognize the dilemmas inherent in this history. As they recognize the conflicting issues and opinions, they are forced to reason carefully and make their own judgments.

The program is divided into eleven chapters extending over eight separate sections. A filmography and bibliography compose the resource unit. The individual chapters are chiefly comprised of excerpts taken from memoirs of people, historical records, and interpretations of the Holocaust. The teacher is provided with questions to challenge students to think on a high cognitive level and to react effectively to the evidence. Follow-up activities are listed to help students develop a deeper understanding of the underlying concepts.

Chapter I - An Introduction

The purpose of the first chapter is to set the tone for the future discussion of the Holocaust.

The class discusses why adults and school systems have avoided discussing the Holocaust. Activities are suggested to help students become comfortable in discussing controversial issues. The teacher is instructed to provide the students with working definitions of words. These definitions will expand and deepen as the students acquire additional information. Finally, the suggestion is offered that students keep personal journals which may either be shared with the class or teacher, or kept private.

Chapter II - Society and the Individual

This chapter helps the students appreciate their role in society and to realize how various aspects of society affect each person differently. This leads the students to discuss the theme of the entire unit "Facing Ourselves," and to investigate the whole area of decision making. Teaching procedures for using a prose selection by Kurt Vonnegut, several films, and other activities to elicit the above are provided.

Chapter III - Individual Decisions Can Alter the Course of Human Development

The students observe how groups of people all over the earth develop their cultures differently. Some groups develop into a technological society more rapidly than others. The existence of slower developing groups could be threatened by the more rapidly developing. Individuals have arisen at times in different cultures which try to impress their ideas on the whole population. The chapter serves as an introduction to the next four units, which examine Hitler's grand design.

Chapter IV - A Case Study in Prejudice and Discrimination, Anti-Semitism

Students deepen their understanding of the concept of prejudice. They are shown how it leads to discrimination and ultimately overt actions against a person. Through rumor and sterotyping this prejudice is transferred from one person to a group. The group becomes the scapegoat for the larger group. The students examine anti-Semitic remarks in the Gospels and in letters of Civil War generals.

Chapter V - German History, World War I to World War II

This chapter serves as a background for understanding the Holocaust in light of the political history of Germany is traced from 1871 to 1939. Emphasis is placed on the periods following World War I and Hitler's rise to power. Students develop the understanding that many complex but not inevitable factors contributed to Hitler's rise. Students read excerpts from historical documents to understand the plight of the German people.

Chapter VI - Nazi Philosophy and Policy

The first of the four themes in this chapter analyzes the roots of National Socialism by quoting several historians. The Nazi philisophy arose from a variety of sources, many of which the students find contradictory. The students learn that the Nazi racial theory ranked and labeled all human beings, leading to acts of violence against those ranked lower. The Night of The Broken Glass is examined as an example of what happens when the theory is put into practice. The concept of Nazi totalitarianism is taught by quoting sources and examining various

German oaths. The final section introduces the students to the concept of "Living Space."

Chapter VII - Preparing for Obedience
The students learn that Hitler depended on obedience to implement his grand plan for a new order. This resulted in blind obedience, conformity and passivity. The film "The Hangman" is viewed to illustrate the point. The teacher exposes the students to Kohlberg's stages of moral development. Through literature students examine a person in conflict with oneself, and with society. The chapter provides many excerpts of the training of Nazi youth. The students explore through art and literature the role propaganda played in shaping the German mentality towards specific beliefs. The readings which conclude chapter focus upon a variety of young people growing up during the Nazi period.

Chapter VII - Victims of Tyranny
The students learn that the uniqueness of the Holocaust stems from the Nazi use of tools of modern technology--the bureaucracy of a modern

nation with the cooperation of citizens, army, and industry to commit race murder. The students begin to learn about the expulsions, resettlements, transports, ghettos, labor camps and crematoria. Students realize that an understanding of the Holocaust depends on who tells the story and how it is told. The ghettos are studied through viewing the studying the film the "Warsaw Ghetto." Several readings help the students appreciate the knowledge or lack of knowledge of the German citizenry about the exterminations. Several first-hand accounts of life in the camps are provided, as well as samples of records kept at the Holocaust memorial in Israel. The chapter concludes with a lengthy discussion of why non-Jews should be concerned about the Holocaust.

Chapter IX - Human Behavior in Extreme Situations In the previous chapter the horrors of the camps were exposed. However, students must make a leap in their imaginations actually to understand the realities. The harsh events precluded any moral choice. The question of Jewish resistance to the Holocaust is examined in great detail. The second

and third sections of this chapter detail how individuals, German and non-German, attempted to aid the Jews. The efforts of the United States and Denmark are singled out to show what nations did to help the Jews.

Chapter X - Judgment

In this chapter the students learn about the war crime trials, and read testimony of the victimizers and victims. The readings and testimonies excerpted from the Nuremberg Trials can stimulate discussion about the motivation and reasoning of the victimizers. The students are again faced with the basic issues of human behavior and morality.

Chapter XI - Facing Today and the Future

The final chapter is divided into three sections. The first part is addressed to the teacher regarding evaluation of what students have learned and what changes in attitudes have occurred. The second section challenges the students to examine the Holocaust through the eyes of an artist. Monuments to the people who were killed in the

Holocaust are studied. The final section relates the issues of the Holocaust to today by examining contemporary news stories.

2.7 Summary

This is basically a textbook on the Holocaust geared towards individual students. Very few plans and directions are given to the teacher on how to use the wealth of materials contained in it. This may be due to the authors' insistence on the need for the teacher to participate in an in-service program before using the material. The teacher who just picks up the manual will find no list of learning objectives for each of the eleven chapters.

It is significant that the material is divided into chapters and not into lesson plans. In a few cases discussion questions and exercises are provided for the many readings. However, most material is merely presented without an explanation of how it should be used. The exceptions to this are the fine aids provided for viewing films and the chapter "Preparing for Obedience" which has excellent teaching suggestions. Periodically comments of teacners and students who used the program previously are included, but only slightly contribute to the development of a teaching strategy.

3.0 GREAT NECK PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

SOCIAL STUDIES HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM

3.1 Origin

This curriculum originated through the interest of Erica Merems, a teacher of North Junior School who approached the school administrator to do some work on Holocaust education. He was able to arrange for released time and substitute service for Ms. Merems and a committee of teachers so they might develop a curriculum and course requirements. They also got a grant from Title lV-B Curriculum Enrichment and from that they developed a curriculum and gathered materials. The Great Neck curriculum is now used in both high schools of this upper-middle class, suburban, New York community. This small community is 80 to 85 percent Jewish, reflected in its public school population.

3.2 Teacher Preparation

As part of the terms of this grant, the Great Neck teachers organized a summer workshop three years ago. It was during this workshop that the Great Neck curriculum was refined to the point where it is now a required unit in ninth grade social studies. An intensive in-service effort

was mounted and a large proportion of the staff participated.

3.3 Rationale

Teachers have a responsibility to today's students, who will be tomorrow's citizens and leaders, to help them examine critically the issues that the Holocaust poses. The rationale of this unit is succinctly stated in 10 needs of students. These needs address the specific issues of the Holocaust as well as universal issues: people's inhumanity to other people, genocide as a threat to all humanity, the implications of modern technology for the human race, and the importance of active citizenship participation.

3.4 Audience

The unit is geared primarily toward the ninth grade level. However, applications are possible on other secondary school levels. The teachers are expected to implement the unit only after participating in an in-service program.

3.5 Developers

Five teachers from the Great Neck public schools

wrote the program and gathered together the information and resource materials.

3.6 Program

The program is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the study of the Holocaust and is particularly addressed to the teacher. This states the background for such a program. The purposes of the course are outlined in chapters B and C, Needs Assessment and Unit Objectives. These two sections are complimentary. The objectives satisfy the stated needs. Fifty-three concepts to be learned are listed in chapter D. The next section, Outline of Understandings and Content, presents in outline form ten units on the Holocaust. These units include:

- Nazi Anti-Semitism;
- Period 1, 1933 - 1939, The Attempted Destruction of German Jewry;
- The Pre-World War II Response of the Western World to the Nazi Treatment of German Jewry.
- Pre-World War II Response of Eastern Europe to Nazi Behavior;
- Period 2, 1939 - 1941, The Years of Nazi Conquest;
- Period 3, 1941 - 1945, The Implementation of the Final Solution to the Jewish Questions;

- Jewish Resistance to the Nazis;
- The Response of the Allies to the Nazi Murder of the Jews;
- The Impact of the Holocaust on the Jews;
- The Impact of the Nazi Rule on Other Peoples of Europe

This outline is factual material which serves as a resource for the teacher.

Following this chapter the six major teaching themes are presented. Each theme is divided into three parts: the theme itself, suggested readings related to the theme, and student activities to deepen the understanding of the themes and readings. All of this information is presented in outline form. A slightly more detailed explanation of events, terms and concepts can be found by consulting the previous scope and sequence section. Many of the readings and most of the activities can be found in the appendices, which comprise 150 pages of the 186 page program. The unit states that the students should read the specific selections; however, no specific learning objective is presented for each selection. Since the themes are merely presented in outline form, listing only topics to be covered, the titles of the themes will be listed below without presenting any summary of each theme. The themes are:

- The Importance of Studying the Holocaust;
- Historical Prologue;
- Perpetrators and Victims;
- The World Reaction;
- The Aftermath;
- Application to Today's World.

A two-page bibliography of secondary sources and a quarter-page list of audio visual aids completes the unit. The most recent work in the bibliography is dated 1975.

3.7 Summary

A unique feature of this curriculum is the listing of ten needs of students:

(1) The need for students to realize that man's inhumanity to man can surface at any period in history when moral and ethical standards are allowed to deteriorate.

(2) The need for students to give meaning, vitality and structure to what they may perceive as only one more distant historical event.

(3) The need for students to realize that genocide is a threat to all humanity, and that a program of genocide invariably results in the destruction of a rich heritage of traditions and contributions of a people.

(4) The need for students to be aware that anti-Semitism has had a long history and is still present in the world today.

(5) The need for students to understand the relationship between the Nazi Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel.

(6) The need to gain insight into the difficulty of maintaining human dignity under the de-humanizing policy followed by the Nazi.

(7) The need for students to appreciate the physical and moral courage of those who fought back against overwhelming odds.

(8) The need for students to understand that individuals seek different ways of survival.

(9) The need to encourage an understanding of the implications of modern technology and

the need for responsible men to determine and control technology for the benefit of mankind.

(10) The need to encourage active citizenship, the idea that in a democracy the citizens must be responsible to control the activities of Government.

This helps the teacher place the teaching of the Holocaust in a specific perspective. The theme units which are the actual teaching units are divided into three parts: the theme, readings, and activities. These teaching units are not very detailed, and the themes might be more clearly expressed and directly related to the learning objectives and the outline of understandings presented at the beginning of the guide.

4.0 NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM: THE HOLOCAUST--A STUDY IN GENOCIDE

4.1 Origin

The New York City Public School system is the largest in the country. Though its high schools are centralized, each high school, containing more than 3,000 students is an educational world of its own. Junior High schools and

elementary schools are subject to the control of local school boards. Although curriculum projects to serve children on each level are centrally produced, it is difficult to generalize as to the extent of their utilization within each school at each level.

The development of the momentum which led to the central board's curriculum project resulting in the production of The Holocaust: A Study of Genocide, had many sources. After the Arab attack on Israel in 1973, many Jewish citizens asked whether we had already forgotten the Holocaust. They felt that teaching about the Holocaust would give future generations a deeper appreciation of the value of human life. In this multi-ethnic, multi-religious city, educators of many groups came to see that the study of the Holocaust could provide a vehicle for exploring such subjects as racism and group hatred while stressing the need to value human life.

In 1975, Mr. Leonard Simon, then Director of the Bureau of Curriculum, who as an American soldier had been present at the liberation of the Dachau concentration camp, requested funding for a curriculum project devoted to Holocaust studies. Among those encouraging these early efforts were Perry Davis, assistant to Steven Aiello (Brooklyn member of the Board of Education) and Ira Zornberg,

Director of Holocaust Studies at John Dewey High School. Mr. Albert Post, then Social Studies Supervisor of Curriculum Development took a deep interest in the project. Mr. Post, who had himself produced lessons for teaching about the Holocaust, established a team which drafted the document now in use. Among those who contributed to its publication were Evelyn Becker, Nancy Boyman, Jay Schechter, Harvey Steinerman, Albert Zachter and Kenneth Aaron. It should be noted that this study focuses upon the curriculum project of the Central Board; courses in Holocaust literature which developed independently from the project of the Central Board are being taught in schools in the city of New York.

4.2 Teacher Training

There was no significant teacher training prior to the publication of this curriculum guide; very few teachers had formal background in this area. There were several in-service training programs, including orientation meetings of principals and social studies chairpersons. Curricula developers also gave enrichment courses to teachers. Several of these courses were under the sponsorship of the Anti-Defamation League. In 1979 Dr. Post conducted a series of courses sponsored by the Board of Education

in each of the five boroughs of the city. These courses comprised eight sessions. Dr. Jane Gerber at the Graduate Center of CUNY, also had a teacher's workshop.

4.3 Rationale

The intent and scope of the mass murders of the Holocaust are unprecedented in history. Painful as it is for young people and their teachers, the story must be told so all students can understand the danger confronting everybody when human rights are denied to any one people. The program seeks to have students understand the nature of prejudice and the methods used to gain acceptance of racism and anti-Semitism; how technology can lead to the destruction of people; the difficulty of maintaining human dignity under cruel, dehumanizing conditions; how the world reacted to the Holocaust; and the relationship between the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. From this material students should be able to draw parallels between forces and events; to understand that injustice exists today and indifference to injustice encourages its growth; and to inspire students to act with greater humanity.

4.4 Audience

The program can be used for units of study, mini-

courses and a one-semester elective in intermediate, junior and senior high schools. The content outlines and learning activities can best be adapted for use in units of study related to modern history, such as tenth grade, World Studies: Western Civilization - History and Culture. Parts of the program can be incorporated in the language arts, art, music and science programs. To teach all the material in the guide is designed for an eighteen week (semester-long) unit. Lesson plans in the manual indicate adaption of material to a two-to-five-week course or a nine-week course as may best serve teachers' needs.

4.5 Developers

Members of the Division of Curriculum and Instruction of the New York City Board of Education prepared, field tested and revised this program. Many administrators and teachers of New York City secondary schools contributed sections to the manual. Members of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, Committee on Education and Curricula aided in the project.

4.6 Program

The curriculum bulletin is divided into two parts.

Part I contains the scope and sequence of the introduction to the Holocaust and the additional seven unit themes. This scope and sequence lists the important understanding to be learned in each unit. Part I contains a calendar of lesson plans for literature and social studies for nine-week courses for the senior high school and shorter courses for the junior high school. Lesson objectives, readings, and discussion questions are provided. The readings and activities are keyed to the resources in Part II.

Part II contains the detailed lesson plans and the readings to be used to implement the scope and sequence of learnings outlined in the first part. A detailed time chart of events in Germany from 1933 to 1945 is provided. These events are listed under three headings: the Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany, Persecution and Holocaust, and Jewish Response. The following eight chapters deal with the specifics of the Holocaust. Each chapter includes a brief overview, a list of chapter objectives and the detailed lesson plan. The core of the lesson plan consists of the readings taken from documents, diaries, eyewitness accounts, secondary source material, poems, and pictorials. Questions for class or individual research and discussion follow each reading.

A detailed bibliography for each of the themes is presented. Books for slower readers are identified. The most recent books listed are dated 1978. A short synopsis for most of the books is provided. The final section of the curriculum bulletin is an annotated list of audio-visual materials and a listing of special programs related to the Holocaust being conducted in New York City.

The organization of The Holocaust: A Study in Genocide:

> Introduction: How Can the Study of the Holocaust Alert People to Present and Future Dangers of Racism and Genocide?
>
> This unit introduces the topic of the Holocaust and places it within a conceptual framework. Three lessons and eleven readings present the issue of prejudice. Students gain an understanding of the reasons for studying genocide, and for studying this particular case of it. They come to realize that prejudice is learned and that the elimination of discrimination will insure the dignity and human rights of all.
>
> Theme I: The World That Was Lost: What Was the Position of Jews in Europe before the Holocaust?
>
> The students learn that anti-Semitism was present

in the medieval world. This helps explain the growth of a separate Jewish culture within the dominant society. The students also read about the Hasidic and Haskalah movements. The unit ends with an account of the Dreyfus trial, which symbolizes the revival of anti-Semitism. Through the four lessons and thirteen readings the students perceive the roots of European anti-Semitism.

Theme II: How Did the Nazis Rise to Power in Germany?

The roots of Nazi ideology, the formation of the party, its achieving a majority in the Reichstag, and its eventual control of every aspect of German life are explored. The five lessons and thirteen readings also show how Hitler attained power by his personal appeals and demagoguery. The students also see the vulnerable position of the Jews at this time and how Hitler used the frustration and bigotry of the German people to isolate the Jews.

Theme III: How Did Racism and Anti-Semitism Lead to the Debasement of a Modern Society and to Genocidal Murder?

This unit continues the study of Hitler. However, this unit examines his anti-Semitic ideals, racial theories, and view of the destiny of the German

people. Students read excerpts of Mein Kampf. The students learn the power of propaganda and how it resulted in an increasing campaign of anti-Semitic legislation and actual acts of terror. The five lessons and seventeen readings lead the students to realize that Nazism represents the antithesis of civil rights.

Theme IV: How Did the German Nazis Carry Out Racist Policies and Genocidal Murder in the Countries They Conquered in World War II?

This unit introduces the students to the harsh realities of the Holocaust through eighteen readings of accounts of repression. In the five lessons the students learn of living conditions in the ghettos, deportation, slave labor camps, and exeuction methods. The readings and learning activities attempt to help the students arrive at some emotional understanding that all people are affected by what happens to one group. The unit starts with a unique learning activity requiring students to make choices by governmental legislation.

Theme V: How Did the Victims Try to Maintain Human Dignity under a System Aimed at their Dehumanization and Physical Destruction?

The five lessons and seventeen readings deal with

forms of resistance to the Nazis. The students learn that it took some time for the Jewish leaders to realize that they could not negotiate with the Nazi regime. Jewish resistance lacked some key elements: friendly cooperation with some part of the larger community, a supply of arms, and knowledgeable leaders. Resistance to civil authority was contrary to many of their religious beliefs. Finally, the students examine the resistance that took place in the ghettos and in the labor camps.

Theme VI: How Did the Rest of the World Respond to the Plight of the Victims?

The five lessons and twenty-five readings lead the students to the inevitable conclusion that there were few responsible efforts to help Jewish refugees. The efforts of Denmark, The Netherlands, The War Refugee Board of the United States, Monsignor Roncalli stationed in Turkey and Pope Pius XII to save the Jewish refugees are examined. The students notice that the Jewish refugee problem pointed to the need for a homeland. Finally, the students read about the effects of the Holocaust on both children who lived through it and children of its survivors.

Theme VII: How Can the Study of the Holocaust Contribute to a More Humane World?

The unit provides a summary of the system of justice as applied by the International Military Tribune in Nuremburg. Emphasis is given to the later trial of Adolf Eichmann. The question of the current status of fugitive Nazi war criminals is raised. The issue of moral responsibility is examined. The student is faced with the continuation of anti-Semitism in many lands. The three lessons and twenty-five readings challenge the students to examine individual guilt when that person continues allegiance to the morally corrupt policies of a state. Lack of resistance may serve to condone evil.

4.7 Summary

This curriculum bulletin is a six-hundred page paperback. The guide is divided into two parts: the scope and sequence of learnings, and the actual lesson plans. While the two are generally related, this is not always the case. Sometimes an item is listed in the scope and sequence, but no lesson plan is directly related to it. At other times, some lesson plans do not seem to be directly

related to any items listed in the scope and sequence.

The strength of this program lies in its lesson plans. The learning objectives are clearly stated and kept to a reasonable number so students will not be overwhelmed. Each reading is followed by several questions; some questions challenge the students to think above the literal level. Other questions lead the students to make effective responses. The teacher will find the annotated bibliography and index helpful. The lesson plans are sufficiently broad to allow the teacher to adapt the topic to the needs of the students.

5.0 PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL SYSTEM: THE HOLOCAUST--A TEACHER RESOURCE

5.1 Origin

In 1975 there was a conference sponsored by the Jewish Community Relations Committee and Temple University to study the Holocaust and to investigate the possibility of incorporating Holocaust study into the Philadelphia School System. The commitment was given by the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, Dr. I. E. Staples, to develop a curriculum for use in the Philadelphia secondary schools. A group of civic and church leaders formed a

Co-ordinating Council to support this educational effort. This Co-ordinating Council still meets periodically to update and to offer new input into the curriculum.

The curriculum was aimed for secondary education--grades 7 to 12. It seemed that it could be most suitably used in World History, although American History offered access to the material as well. The Curriculum Development Committee was formed and teachers on the Committee used the material concurrently in their classes so this became an informal pilot study.

5.2 Teacher-Training

A seven-week staff development program was considered a prerequisite for any teacher preparing to use the curriculum. About 60 teachers were involved in the initial program and interest was widespread. The curriculum was prepared with an extensive bibliography to help teachers fill their own background and find resources. The school system also had a weekly film delivery service; audio-visual materials were purchased to help with the curriculum in context. Teachers in ten schools volunteered to pilot the curriculum its first year; the year after the first conference the curriculum was ready for a pilot testing.

The National Institute on the Holocaust at Temple University was a very strong support and a rich source of materials not only for the development of the curriculum but for the support and training of teachers interested in trying out this curriculum. After a successful pilot period, this curriculum is now part of the social studies curriculum of the Philadelphia School District.

5.3 Rationale

The authors state that the students should be made aware of the conditions which led to the Holocaust and the consequences of it so they will be in a knowledgeable position to prevent it from happening again. Students are to realize that such a horror is not a phenomenon peculiar to one place, people, time or issue. The story of the Holocaust should lead students to recognize the humanness of all people, the need to live together in peace, and that apathy in the face of evil is evil.

5.4 Audience

This course is designed to be incorporated into the secondary school social studies program. In the seventh grade some points may be integrated into the unit on the

establishment of the State of Israel. In the eighth grade, as the students explore relationships between Germany and the United States before, during and after World War II, Hitler's policy of genocide should be examined. The ninth grade course focuses on World History and Government. Therefore, the subject of the Holocaust can be introduced throughout the year-long course. This area of study can also be used in courses on international studies or sociology. Finally, teachers use the entire syllabus as a basis for a mini-course.

5.5 Program

The material was prepared and written by a team of administrators, and junior and senior high school teachers in Philadelphia. Support for the program was given by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Community Relations Council, the Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia, and faculty members of Gratz College, St. Joseph's College and Temple University.

5.6 Program

This course outline is divided into six units, a bibliography and a list of audio visual materials. Each

of the six units is divided into seven parts. The first part called Background provides the teacher with a short overview of the content of the unit. Each unit has several clearly stated cognitive objectives that the students should achieve as a result of the unit. A pre-test is provided to test the knowledge the students bring to the unit. A list of related terms follows. These terms include people, concepts, places and things. The largest part of each chapter is the section entitled Content. The major ideas to be taught and learned are presented in outline form. Included within this framework are all the vocabulary terms previously listed. To enable the students to learn the material each unit has a series of activities, assignments the students are to do in order to learn the content of the chapter. The activities include viewing films, reading source materials or newspaper accounts, interviewing people, and inviting speakers to address the class. The last section of each unit is a bibliography. The topics of individual units are as follows:

Units

Unit 1 - Stereotypes, Prejudices and Violence
The objective of this unit is to have the students understand the nature of prejudice and the effects it has on human relations. Prejudice is examined

in many different forms: anti-Catholicism, racism, anti-American Indian, sexism, etc. The activities direct students to examine their own statements, statements of public relations people, films, contemporary television programs, and Supreme Court decisions for traces of prejudice.

Unit 2 - Antecedents of the Holocaust: A Survey of Anti-Semitism through the Ages

This unit is divided into three parts: ancient times, medieval times, and modern times to 1945. The students are to learn that in ancient and medieval times discrimination arose because the faith and religious practices of the Jewish people differed from their neighbors. In modern times the Enlightenment encouraged the growth of secular anti-Semitism, which provided the philosophical basis for the Holocaust. The content of the chapter presents a chronological list of anti-Semitic acts through history, and the few attempts to reduce Anti-Semitism.

Unit 3 - The Holocaust

The largest of the six units seeks to have students study the Final Solution so they will be moved to realize the necessity to respect all people and work for the elimination of bigotry. The largest part

of this unit is devoted to student activities. Extended excerpts from three diaries are given, as well as a first-hand account from a survivor of the Holocaust.

Unit 4 - World Reaction to the Holocaust
This short unit examines how leaders of western countries reacted to the mass persecutions in Germany. It seeks to develop the attitude that apathy in the face of evil is itself evil.

Unit 5 - Jewish Resistance to the Holocaust
This unit seeks to dispel the myth that Jews did not resist the Holocaust and even assisted in their own destruction. The unit outlines acts of resistance by the Jewish people against those who persecuted them from biblical to modern times, with special emphasis on the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The unit includes a very detailed chronology of events from January 1933 through October 1945, and three Yiddish songs relating the suffering of the people.

Unit 6 - The Consequences of the Holocaust
This unit presents the shocking statistics of the Holocaust, the trials and punishment of war criminals, with special emphasis on Adolf Eichmann, and the

founding of the State of Israel.

Bibliography

Seven pages listing books on the Holocaust are presented. These are divided into such topics as: the rise of anti-Semitism, rescue memoirs, and works of fiction. Easy-to-read books are starred. The most recent works are dated 1975.

Audio-Visual Aids

An annotated list of films covers six pages. These are not listed by topic. The distributor and price of each are given.

5.7 Summary

Teachers on the junior and senior high school levels will find the highly structured and detailed manual an excellent source for the development of many individual lessons. The objectives for each of the six units are clearly stated. The teaching units fall into clearly distinguished themes. The pre-test which helps the teacher ascertain the current knowledge of the students on this topic correlates very well with both the learning objectives and the content of the chapter. The learning activities are quite varied, thus avoiding tediousness for the students and

teachers. Since the unit is to be used on several grade levels, an indication of the specific learnings and activities to be used on each level should have been made to avoid the possibility of the needless repetition of content and activities one year after another. The material is printed in a very readable and easy-to-follow fashion.

CHAPTER III

TEACHING THE HOLOCAUST

1.0 INTRODUCTION

What do teachers teach when teaching about the Holocaust? We have conducted in-depth telephone interviews with some of the most experienced teachers involved in Holocaust education in each of the four school districts.* We asked them to describe in their own words their educational goals and objectives, their teaching strategies and practical methods, and their perceptions of what their students learn in the unit or course. The detailed protocol for the teacher telephone interview is presented in Appendix C.

In listening to what the teachers themselves have said, a number of common themes emerge. To varying degrees, teachers characterized their educational goals in terms of having their students:

- Learn about the causes of prejudice and racism and develop an awareness of inter-group relations: studying about the Holocaust becomes an

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* Methods of identifying and selecting teachers varied and are described below for each district. We interviewed five teachers in Brookline, five in Great Neck, twelve in Philadelphia and ten in New York City.

opportunity to explore what happens when one group is targeted for state-inspired hatred and then destruction;

- Know history: knowing the factual bases for events which led up to and then became the Holocaust;

- Understand history: being able to generalize from one set of historical events and then draw implications to relevant contemporary situations;

- Take individual responsibility for decisions: thinking about the moral implication for personal decisions and establishing an awareness for reasoning about "what would I do if I were faced with a somewhat similar moral dilemma" as those people caught up in the Holocaust?

- Understand the complexity of decisions: in terms of being able to think about justifications for actions from a number of different points of view, and to develop reasons for deciding among them.

Teachers described students' reactions to learning

about the Holocaust in terms of:

- Being simply a very emotional experience;
- Holding students' interests because the material is very challenging and generates a great deal of excitement in learning;
- Helping students learn about prejudice, racism and anti-Semitism;
- Increasing students' awareness of other people, individual differences and group differences;
- Increasing students' abilities to draw parallels to contemporary situations and, when necessary, to question authority.

Teachers described their teaching strategies and approaches in terms of:

- The extent to which they continued to teach the Holocaust in the same way that they taught other units;
- The extent to which class discussions, learning assignments and tests were similar to other units and courses;

- The extent to which instructional aids such as audio-visual materials, role-playing situations and speakers supplemented the usual range of teaching activities.

In this chapter, we shall first let the teachers speak for themselves, reporting their own descriptions of their educational purposes and methods. Then we shall contrast the general themes expressed in terms of the similarities and differences among teachers teaching in various school districts.

2.0 Brookline

2.1 Setting

Facing History and Ourselves is a required part of the eighth grade social studies curriculum in the Brookline public schools. First taught on a pilot basis in 1976 and then mandated throughout the system in 1977, the course is designed as an eight to ten week unit; teachers frequently report spending an additional two to four weeks on the unit. Almost all of the eighth grade social studies teachers in the system participated in a week-long teacher training workshop before first teaching the course. It is usually

taught towards the end of the spring semester, as the culmination of a year-long study of social studies course. On occasion, teachers have experimented with teaching the course between November and January. We interviewed five teachers, four of whom had taught the course at least twice.

2.2 Teachers' Themes and Goals

The primary focus of Facing History and Ourselves, all teachers interviewed report, is human behavior -- the study of justice, anti-Semitism, racism and personal decision-making and social responsibility. Studying the Holocaust provides the context for these underlying themes. A priority objective is to develop an awareness of the "complexity of questions of human behavior" -- the ways in which individuals face choices and why they choose to behave as they do.

As teachers describe it, this curriculum has twin sets of goals, both of equal importance. The course helps students learn about social forces through studying the Holocaust and the events which preceded it -- the development of Nazism, the rise of Hitler and so forth. Beyond "knowing" the history of the period, students relate the general themes to contemporary social issues: toward the end of the unit teachers ask their students "Could the Holocaust

happen again? If so, how and why?" In addition, the course helps students understand their own roles and responsibilities in society through examining their own actions in situations and reactions to events. For instance, students studied A Boy Named Frederick, a book about two boys, one a Nazi and the other a Jew, and the differences between the two in how they grew up. The course leads students to ask "what would I do" in a particular situation? "How would I respond?"

In fact though, to continue with teachers' descriptions, these twin goals are intertwined throughout the unit and individual teachers may emphasize one component more than another. As one teacher described it, Facing History and Ourselves was basically a study of human behavior -- choices, pressures, obedience, laws, and resistance, to identify but a few themes. Students study both history, and the "results" of human behavior -- Nazi training, philosophy, socialization, and propaganda. Students learn to recognize both "the cruelty of human beings" and also the "kindness of human beings": despite the cruelty of the concentration camp, some people resisted. Another teacher emphasizes the "role of the individual" and stresses the differences among people. By recognizing that all individuals involved in the Holocaust are first

and foremost people, students study the extremes to which human beings can go in pursuit of ideologies, and in response to situations.

An underlying concern is developing an awareness of the complexity of decisions -- learning to recognize the kinds of pressure involved in making decisions; understanding the pressures that arise from family, peers, the larger society; making conscious decisions and beginning to take responsibility for them. These are very real and pressing issues for eighth graders. Within the course many different points of view are recognized: students are asked to understand why people in specific situations responded in particular ways, both to understand the "complexity of questions of human behavior" and to become aware of their own personal reactions to specific situations. One teacher explained that he frequently plays the "devil's advocate" in situations to get students involved in the problems and thinking about moral dilemmas; only at the end would he let his students know his own position.

Another teacher realized, after attending a conference, that there were really three kinds of teachers involved in Holocaust education: the "memorializers," the "guilt layers," and the "educators." Her own goal, and that of her colleagues teaching Facing History and

Ourselves, was to serve as an "educator," to teach about the Holocaust and thereby help students understand its special meaning for contemporary life.

2.3 Perceived Effects in Students

The unit on the Holocaust raised a great deal of excitement and interest on the part of students. Teachers uniformly emphasized that most students worked hard in the unit, as it became personally meaningful to them. As all five teachers described it, students were challenged to confront basic emotions and gut fears, and hence to understand themselves and others better. Students had to confront the sterile results of human behavior, and to become sensitized to "labels" and "individual differences" among people. They had to come to understand issues of power, justice and decision making. They learned to appreciate other human beings and the complexity of their motivations. While learning about the Holocaust was a very emotional experience, students were able to direct and focus their feelings into creative and meaningful learning experiences.

Finally, all teachers felt that this curriculum had a very great effect on helping students generalize from a specific historical situation to their own lives

and contemporary events. Students were able to see the importance of taking a stand and assuming responsibility for their own decisions. Students were "more likely to question authority, and less likely to simply accept what someone said because he or she was an adult, wearing a suit." The course "is real to the kids," as one teacher remembers, "and challenges them on both an academic and a personal level."

2.4 Teaching Approaches and Methods

On the whole, teachers taught Facing History and Ourselves in much the same way as other social studies units in the eighth grade -- with a familiar range of lectures, classroom discussions, homework assignments, and tests. Basically only the content of the material differed; students were more motivated to read, to write reports, to express their own feelings. One teacher mentioned trying to get away from traditional teaching methods and making a special effort to have as many children as possible talking and listening to one another. Other teachers frequently asked students to do additional reading or had many requests for more reading material.

In one school in particular where we interviewed teachers, the librarian, art teacher and guidance counselor

worked together with the social studies teachers to develop a team approach. The librarian helped develop a reading list and then gave a "book talk" about available readings on the Holocaust, in an effort to help students find interesting materials. "Students can learn through fiction," and a fringe benefit was that students became more interested in reading. Similarly, the art teacher observed, students struggle with their feelings when learning this material. Art provides a very valid outlet for students to express themselves, and to sort out their own thinking and feelings, particularly for students who have difficulty with writing: students can express themselves through paintings and drawings. They can also come to understand how others have felt through studying about monuments. An art historian from a local university, for instance, gave a slide show and discovered how society deals with the Holocaust through monuments and through manipulating symbol systems. Students were able to see graphically how adults also struggle with many of the same values, conflicts and moral issues in confronting the Holocaust.

Whether or not teachers used a "team approach" they stressed that homework assignments, testing and grading continued much as in other units. All emphasized

writing. Students prepared book reports and research projects. In some classes students kept journals which served as a chronology of their learning, feelings and experiences. Some teachers graded on the basis of both classroom participation and written work. Tests tended to focus on academic and historical issues -- to probe what students themselves had learned, in contrast to their gut responses to situations. Teachers generally preferred essay questions.

Films and film strips were integral parts of the curriculum. These were generally of two types -- documentary movies and those on human behavior such as Milgram's study on obedience. Survivors and others who had lived through the Holocaust were invited to speak in most classes. Students were very moved by these presentations. Some teachers tried to "role play" situations as a way of teaching about moral dilemmas. Those that tried had mixed results, feeling that teaching by "role playing" situations was a "tricky thing" that was hard to pull off. Other teachers did not role-play situations at all, feeling that they were not good at it.

All teachers mentioned that their initial teacher training experiences, and the on-going support from the Holocaust Resource Center in the Brookline school system

(co-directed by Margot Sen Strom and William Parsons) were very important for developing their own teaching approaches and methods. In order to be able to teach the material effectively to students, teachers need to be in touch with their own feelings and emotions. The teacher training workshops served to introduce the subject content and the range of available materials. With this information, teachers could develop their own particular approach to the topic, in light of their own interests and expertise.

3.0 Great Neck

3.1 Setting

The unit on the Holocaust is a required part of the ninth grade curriculum, taught during the last part of the year at the conclusion of a year-long course on Western Civilization. It is designed as a five week unit but many teachers find that they get so involved in the material that it takes much longer. It has been a mandated part of the curriculum since 1976. All twelve ninth grade teachers in Great Neck teach this unit; most have participated in a teacher-training workshop organized by the curriculum developer, who is also a high school

teacher in the system. On her own initiative, one teacher has also developed a semester-long course about the Holocaust which is offered as an elective in the twelfth grade; others teach about the Holocaust in twelfth grade European history courses. For this assessment we focus only on the ninth grade unit. Our information about teaching the Holocaust is based on interviews with five of the twelve teachers.

3.2 Teachers' Themes and Goals

As teachers describe it, a major theme of the Holocaust unit is to analyze our capacity for inhumanity, to foster a greater sense of individual responsibility for one's actions, and to understand the causes of prejudice and racism. An unstated but often implied goal is for students to wrestle with the underlying moral dilemmas about life in the twentieth century.

Most teachers we interviewed said they took a "historical approach" to the unit, beginning with the consequences of the First World War and the Turkish atrocities against the Armenians as the first example of genocide in the twentieth century; next discussing the rise of Hitler, Nazism, totalitarianism, and the history of the Third Reich; finally focusing on the

Holocaust itself and its aftermath, trying to address in a meaningful way the very troubling philosophical problems raised by these extreme events. For instance, one teacher used an "inquiry approach" to try to foster inductive thinking: in one class session students chose a particular freedom from the Bill of Rights and defended it; at the next class session they studied the Nuremberg Laws as a stark contrast. They came away from this experience, the teacher reports, understanding that in particular circumstances, rights and priorities can vary. Another teacher emphasized that, for her, the Holocaust represented a watershed event: her students should understand the extremes to which individuals and governments use twentieth century technology in pursuit of particular political ends.

Teachers want their students to develop both a greater understanding of democratic institutions and a deeper appreciation for each other. Students wrestle with the issues "what would I do?" "where would I be?" to try to foster a greater awareness of individual responsibility for their own decisions. Teachers said they spent a long time with their students talking about making choices, talking through the pros and cons of various choices in historical contexts, and helping them realize

that in many situations, people's choices are not necessarily clearcut. To present a balanced view, teachers stressed the roles of victims, victimizers and witnesses. In fact, teachers emphasized that witnesses had special responsibilities: too many were too silent for too long. Thus, understanding why the rest of the world "did nothing" had special meaning for helping students understand the relevance of history to contemporary situations.

3.3 Perceived Effects on Students

Learning about the Holocaust is a very intense and emotional experience for their students, all teachers interviewed report. For the Jewish students in particular, a sizable majority of the student body, there is a "personal ethic connection" with the material and some sense of familial experience with the history. Many had learned about the Holocaust in their Hebrew schools but never previously as linked to their secular studies. For non-Jewish students, the unit leads them to "an awareness about particular events that they did not have before" and an opportunity to empathize with their Jewish friends. Thus studying about the Holocaust helps to break down the barriers between Jewish and non-Jewish students. It serves to develop, one teacher described, a "new awareness" about

individual differences among people.

Teachers say that their students are somewhat better able to draw parallels to contemporary situations following the unit on the Holocaust. They try to leave their students with a sense of hope as well as a deeper understanding of contemporary events. But given the profound impact of the material, finding hope is sometimes very difficult.

3.4 Teaching Approaches and Methods

Teachers continued to teach their ninth grade World Civilization courses in much the same way -- lecture and discussion -- but the unit on the Holocaust also provided opportunities to do things differently. In some classes the material simply provided many more topics for discussions and debates: students could not avoid having definite opinions which they wanted to share with one another. Other teachers consciously structured their students' energies in more formalized ways such as organizing small group research projects and using an "inquiry approach" to contrast basic democratic values and rights with Nazi activities and principles. One teacher interviewed said she extensively used simulation games to stimulate students' interests.

Homework and written assignments continued much as before. Most frequently students did book reports; possible topics were more varied as students had a wider range of options from which to choose. One teacher found her students observing their own changes in attitudes during the course: before beginning the unit they wrote an essay on the worst stereotype they had heard of. Then at the end of the unit they returned to the composition, to confront their own attitudes and prejudices and to see first-hand how their own ideas had changed. Most teachers interviewed continued with the same kind of testing and grading as they had used before. Teachers were likely to ask essay questions on tests where students had to argue their own point of view, rather than simple short-answer questions, requiring simply a regurgitation of "facts."

Audio-visual materials were used extensively in all classes; Night and Fog was the most frequently mentioned film. Survivors visited all classes and their presentations were an integral part of most classes, a "highlight of the course," one teacher revealed. But another teacher cautioned that often a number of repetitious presentations from the same person diminishes their freshness and originality. Depending more on first-person literary accounts may be just as meaningful.

4.0 New York City

4.1 Setting

Courses on the Holocaust are offered in New York City public schools when there is sufficient interest on the part of teachers, administrators and students.

Neither the New York City Board of Education nor other organizations in the City had a complete listing of teachers involved with Holocaust education; so we had to devise an ad hoc system based on telephone surveys and social contacts. With the approval of the Central Board, we telephoned the principals' offices of every high school in the system to inquire whether the Holocaust was taught as a subject by any teacher in the school. Next, we got in touch with local groups that had held workshops on teaching the Holocaust for the names of New York City teachers who had attended. Finally we contacted the curriculum developers and master teachers, who were well known for their work on teaching the Holocaust, to find out about other teachers in different schools. On the basis of these diverse methods we identified 54 teachers involved in various aspects of Holocaust education.

We interviewed nine public school teachers about the Holocaust in many different kinds of courses including:

- Semester-long high school elective courses devoted specifically to the Holocaust;

- Semester-long high school elective social studies courses which include a ten-lesson unit on the Holocaust;

- Required high school social studies courses which include material on the Holocaust, ranging from a few individual lessons to a concentrated four week effort;

- High school elective literature courses which taught the literature of the Holocaust

These courses were offered in both academic and vocational high schools, having very different kinds of student bodies -- ranging from predominantly black and Hispanic, to racially mixed with a sizable minority population, to largely white. Some schools had sizable numbers of Jewish students, but many did not.

All of the teachers interviewed utilized the Board of Education's Curriculum Guide to some extent. Many had been teaching about the Holocaust prior to the publication of the Guide. Many stated that they were utilizing a wide variety of other materials in addition to the Curriculum Guide.

4.2 Teachers' Themes and Goals

All of the teachers we interviewed stressed that combatting prejudice, stereotyping and racism were major goals. Some thought that this could be accomplished through a general process of consciousness raising -- talking about specific events and the underlying philosophical and moral questions that they illustrate. Others emphasized historical realities -- stressing the historical context for the Holocaust, the specific factors that led to the rise of Nazism and fascism. Some sought explicitly to raise moral dilemmas, to have students confront what they would do in particular, ambiguous situations, to help them articulate their own personal values and make "the best" decision in the face of horrendous choices. Others thought that by emphasizing "what happened," the weight of historical evidence would lead students to draw their own conclusions.

An important difference among teachers' goals depended on time. Those who offered an elective on the Holocaust had a greater opportunity to explore the topic in depth, while those who taught a series of lessons had to weave the material into the basic themes of the more general course. For instance, one teacher offering an elective course provided a theoretical context based on

Gorden Allport's classic The Nature of Prejudice. He asked students to focus on problems about the "nature of man; was it possible that there was a Nazi in each one of us?" These kinds of discussions led to analysis of mass movements and then to the history of anti-Semitism. Other teachers had comparable interdisciplinary focuses -- discussing the "nature of fascism," the "nature of Nazism," "the root causes of anti-Semitism and its effects."

In the best of circumstances this type of material and analysis is very difficult. Not only are the historical facts gruesome and depressing, but the philosophical implications very troubling. Not surprisingly, teachers offering elective courses reported having difficulty motivating students and getting them to think about the philosophical and moral dilemmas inherent in the material. They felt that many students were "Regents and grade-oriented"; they were most likely to learn material that would be tested on the Regents.

Teachers teaching a series of lessons about the Holocaust had narrower and more focused goals, keyed to the general themes of the specific course. For instance, one teacher reworked his presentation of material about World War II to include nine lessons on the Holocaust. Another teacher used information about the Holocaust as

one of a number of case studies of the causes of war and peace, to illustrate how a charismatic leader manipulated national attitudes about Jews and created a climate of public opinion which made genocide a viable policy. This kind of teaching meant that teachers had to be more succinct and didatic in their lesson planning and delivery. One teacher mentioned having difficulty locating elementary-level material about the Holocaust as students felt intimidated by much of the available information. A key aspect was to relate material about the Holocaust explicitly to the more general themes raised in the course during the semester; one teacher mentioned that he began to talk about the Holocaust in February, even though he did not specifically "teach" the unit until May.

4.3 Perceived Effects on Students

Whether the Holocaust was taught in a semester-length course or in just a few lessons, teachers felt that the material had a very emotional impact on students. It had a great impact on stimulating discussions about inter-group relations, making students aware of individual and group differences, and providing a framework through which students could explore their feelings about other

groups. The more graphic the material, the more emotional the response. Some teachers felt that learning about anti-Semitism had a great impact as it served to break down stereotypes of Jews, particularly by non-Jewish students. One teacher, though, felt that the material only served to reinforce old prejudices of Jewish students.

The deaths of so many people, the sheer number of the atrocities committed, had a very great impact, many teachers reported. Even students with reading difficulties were very interested in the material and became much more involved in the class work. Many teachers said that discussions were much more spirited than usual. Specific incidents, to which students could relate, were very important. Stories about school-age children and their families were particularly poignant and moving; abstract analysis about the "lessons" of the Holocaust were much more difficult to teach, and for students to understand. Some teachers tried to channel students' emotional responses towards a deeper understanding of events, such as feeling a sense of personal reponsibility for history. Other teachers were less explicit and felt that by having raised the issues and questions, students should be free to draw their own conclusions.

4.4 Teaching Approaches and Methods

Most teachers said that they continued as usual with their previous teaching methods -- lectures, discussions and assigned reading; because students were more motivated, they were more interested in doing the outside reading, and class discussions were more intense. A few teachers tried to integrate simulative games into the classroom activities as well. One teacher felt that his teaching methods changed because he focused more explicitly on value conflicts and dilemmas.

Book reports and short papers were given frequently as homework assignments. Some teachers gave factual tests; others graded on the basis of written assignments and classroom participation.

All of the teachers used films and filmstrips in their classes. Most frequently mentioned titles included Night and Fog, Camera of My Family, Twisted Cross and films provided by the Anti-Defamation League. One teacher mentioned using more than twelve films during the entire course. Another teacher used videotapes to teach non-readers. A few teachers also used simulative games such as the "Collie Plot" to role-play situations and to discuss moral dilemmas. A number of teachers invited Holocaust survivors as speakers. Some felt that having personal

eye-witnesses was a very effective way to help students understand what had happened.

5.0 Philadelphia

5.1 Setting

Material about the Holocaust is taught in Philadelphia public schools at many different grade levels at the teachers' discretion. Working through the Director of the Division of Social Studies, we identified and subsequently interviewed eleven junior and senior high school teachers who included a unit about the Holocaust in their world history, American history or general social studies courses, usually toward the end of the year in conjunction with studying about the Second World War. There were classes between the seventh and twelfth grades. These eleven teachers, according to the Assistant Director of the Division, represented some of the system's most experienced and talented teachers teaching about the Holocaust.

The curriculum about the Holocaust is approved by the Board of Education, but is not a mandated part of any specific course of study. This means that individual teachers can introduce the material into their classes as they see fit. Some teachers gradually develop themes

related to the Holocaust throughout the school year, while others focus on the material for a few weeks. Most of the teachers we interviewed taught a three-to-four-week unit about the Holocaust during their regular class periods. One teacher organized a four-day symposium where all social studies students in the school listened to lectures by teachers, saw movies and discussed the Holocaust in small groups.

We were unable to develop precise figures about how many teachers and students were actually involved in Holocaust education in Philadelphia, as the school system did not collect data at this very detailed level. The Assistant Director estimated that as of the fall 1980, some students in 50 to 55 of the 70 secondary schools in the district were learning about the Holocaust. Roughly 100 to 125 teachers had participated in the teacher training workshops over the past three years. In some schools two or three teachers taught about the Holocaust, while in other schools only one. Some teachers in middle schools also taught about the Holocaust but had no estimate of the numbers involved.

The schools where these classes were taught varied greatly in terms of social and economic characteristics. Some were predominantly black while others were racially

integrated. Some were lower income, inner-city schools while others drew from middle class neighborhoods. We interviewed teachers from a cross-section of Philadelphia schools; most did not have many (or any) Jewish students in their classes. This seemed to emphasize the broad appeal of Holocaust education.

5.2 Teachers' Themes and Goals

Learning about the Holocaust in Philadelphia is usually linked to basic themes in the social studies curriculum; teachers use the material to teach about prejudice, racism, anti-Semitism and inter-group relations.

Some begin by studying the causes of prejudice, move on to reports about the Klu Klux Klan, the history of anti-Semitism and finally onto the extreme phenomenon of genocide. For many teachers the history of World War I, the Versailles Treaty, the rise of Hitler and Nazism, and the subsequent events illustrate more general themes of "learning to live together regardless of differences, any differences" that in extreme situations of prejudice and racism "nobody can be spared"; moreover, that "in a school riddled with intolerance, prejudice becomes the priority theme." Other teachers emphasize more historical and political factors. They begin by discussing dictatorships,

monarchies and various democratic forms of government. They have students investigate what different systems of government do to people. Thus, Hitler, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust serve to illustrate the causes and consequences of totalitarianism, in a stark contrast to democratic ideas and individual freedom. One teacher explained that from this focus on democratic ideas gradually evolves "an understanding about the development of freedom and the freedom of the individual."

Teachers vary in terms of how strongly they emphasize the basic knowledge of history related to the Holocaust. Some say they take "basically a historical/chronological approach." Others prefer to focus on underlying factors such as "how Hitler got control, conditions in Germany, dictatorships" and so forth, and then relate the material to various contemporary situations such as Indochinese refugees or the problems of minority groups. They seek to have their students generalize to other situations -- both historical, such as the Japanese internment in California following Pearl Harbor, or the Armenian genocide following the First World War.

Most teachers we interviewed stressed wanting their students to develop a personal sense of responsibility for events and situations. As one teacher described it, "moral

judgments and values permeate all of the material" related to the Holocaust. Students are asked (and ask themselves) "what would you do? Kill or be killed? Speak or be quiet?" As another teacher described it, students are asked these kinds of questions "in an attempt to help them recognize their own prejudices and deal with them." Values and morality are stressed "to sensitize students that it (something like the Holocaust) could happen to them." A priority educational objective as another teacher revealed was for students "to gain respect for human dignity and to develop a sensitivity to other people." Material related to the Holocaust provides teen-agers with ample opportunities to discuss what they themselves would do in somewhat comparable extreme situations, to reflect on how they themselves make personal choices, and to assess their own individual prejudices, fears, and stereotypes.

Philadelphia teachers placed less emphasis on wanting students to develop an awareness of the complexity of decision making and an appreciation of the complex and often contradictory forces that led to the Holocaust. One teacher remarked that students "must understand past and present values" in order to deal with decision-making. Yet, discussions of moral dilemmas were noticeably absent in how teachers characterized their own goals and objectives for

Holocaust education. They emphasized instead students' personal reactions to situations, considering their own individual values and beliefs; teachers focused much less on what "should" have happened in a "just society" or what the "morally right" decisions should have been.

5.3 Perceived Effects on Students

All of the teachers we interviewed said that learning about the Holocaust had a great effect on their students. "It's an emotional experience of one sort or another. It's a heavy trip and most students are happy to move on." The material holds students' interest perhaps in part because of their teachers' feelings about the topic. "The kids are really turned on," on teacher candidly remarked, but "maybe it's my own attitude towards the subject; maybe they just read me." Other teachers described how their students became deeply absorbed in the topic; it was an "intense learning experience met with horror, disbelief, sadness and uneasiness." "Situations, and dialogues can get very emotional." Some of the students' interests remained high, beyond the end of term: some want to continue to read more over the summer. Even slow readers or non-readers asked for more books to read.

Teachers felt that learning about the Holocaust

helped to combat prejudice, racism and anti-Semitism: students could talk intensely about the effects of prejudice and the consequences of racism in historical contexts. They could examine their own feelings and reactions, detached from day-to-day events and emotions. Hence they could find personal meaning in the historical record, and could begin to generalize from the experiences of Jewish children in the 1930's and '40's to their own situations today.

The curriculum affects students on a personal level, and helps to sensitize them to individual differences among people. As one teacher described it, the curriculum had its greatest impact "on examining oneself and strengthening one's own values." Teachers did not specifically mention that their students were better able to draw parallels to contemporary situations, or had a greater understanding of the workings of democratic institutions following the curriculum. One suspects that the greatest impact of studying about the Holocaust for students was on a personal level.

5.4 Teaching Approaches and Methods

Despite the strong emotions aroused by the material, most teachers said that they taught the unit on the Holocaust in much the same way that they taught other social studies

units -- with lectures, discussions, reading assignments, projects (only one teacher made a substantial break with other units by organizing an intensive four-day symposium). But, because students were much more interested in the material than usual, class discussions were more intense and wide ranging.

Teachers had students do more writing in class, and assigned more book reports and short homework projects. In some classes, teachers organized independent study projects which students pursued during the entire unit. In many classes, students had greater flexibility to pursue their own interests in terms of books and projects. Many teachers said that their students often presented reports on projects in class, and lively discussions ensued.

Most teachers reported that they had about as many tests during the Holocaust unit as other units. Tests were more likely to be essay questions which required students to express their own thoughts and feelings, rather than give short, simply factual answers. One teacher discontinued tests during the unit because she perceived it as an experience in human relations, where students could get more involved and learn more. Many teachers said that grading was also based on written assignments and classroom participation.

All of the teachers we interviewed used audio visual materials to a very great extent in their classes. Pictures such as Night and Fog and The Warsaw Ghetto were a very graphic medium to communicate the implicit message. Students had the option of not watching a particular film if they felt it would be too gruesome.

About half of the teachers we talked to said that they regularly had outside speakers visit their classes to talk about the Holocaust; some speakers were survivors and others had been involved in other ways (such as part of the American Army that liberated some of the camps). These speakers served to bring a "sense of reality" to the historical material.

A few teachers also felt that role-playing situations were an essential part of the unit. One teacher went so far as to run her class for three days as a mock Nazi classroom complete with segregating "Jewish" students and having them adhere to Nazi beliefs to provide a sense of realism. Teachers that successfully used role-play situations felt that they helped students confront things that were not naturally part of their experience. But many teachers did not feel comfortable with artificially constructed situations because students frequently became very silly and nothing much was learned.

6.0 Comparing Holocaust Teaching

There are many similarities and a number of educationally meaningful differences in how teachers describe their purposes and methods in the four school districts. Making meaningful comparisons among teachers within the various districts is an imprecise science at best. To help make judgments and to guide our assessment, we have used an a priori rating scheme to rate teachers' responses in terms of the specific categories discussed at the beginning of this chapter.*

6.1 Goals and Objectives

We rated teachers' descriptions of their goals and objectives in terms of how central or primary a particular concern has been when describing the purpose of the course. The results reported in Table 3-1 are based on the following categories:

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* Two raters independently read each interview and judged how strongly particular themes were stressed, assigning a numeric score to a category. Their rates were then averaged across both raters and teachers within a district, to produce a category score for the district.

Rate	Meaning	Teacher's Description
3	Central or Primary Issue	Goal explicitly stated in interview and with emphasis
2	Important or Secondary Issue	Stated in interview as an additional goal
1	An Issue or Concern	Implied in interview as a goal, based on interpreting the teacher's remarks
0	Not an Issue	Not material

In general, the study of prejudice, racism and inter-group relations is an underlying goal of Holocaust education, as described by teachers in all four districts. This is a slightly less salient goal in Great Neck, where more emphasis is given to the specific knowledge of history and knowing the historical facts. Teachers emphasize that they try to generalize from historical situations to contemporary events, particularly in Brookline and to a slightly lesser extent in Philadelphia and Great Neck. Teachers also report they focus on developing a sense of individual responsibility for decision-making, particularly in Brookline and Philadelphia, and less so in Great Neck and New York City. Brookline teachers, in addition, emphasized that their curriculum has another dimenion, developing in students an awareness of the complexity of decisions.

In short, based on teachers' descriptions of goals, the Brookline and Philadelphia curricula have a social science/behavioral orientation; the Great Neck curriculum has a slightly greater historical focus; the New York curriculum as adapted by individual teachers emphasized primarily an awareness of prejudice, racism and inter-group relations.

Table 3-1

TEACHERS' GOALS
(Average Rating in District)

	Brookline (n=5)	Great Neck (n=5)	NYC (n=9)	Philadelphia (n=11)
A. Prejudice, racism and inter-group relations	2.0	2.8	2.4	2.8
B. Knowledge of history "Know history and know the facts"	2.4	2.0	1.8	2.0
C. Relevance of history to contemporary situations	2.0	2.2	1.3	2.2
D. Individual responsibility for decisions	2.1	2.3	1.6	2.3
E. Awareness of complexity of decisions	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.7

6.2 Impact on Students

Rating teachers' perceptions of the curriculum's impact on their students reported in Table 3-2 is based on the following criteria:

Rate	Meaning	Teacher's Description
3	Area of great impact	Emphasized in interview
2	Area of secondary impact	Described in interview, but not emphasized
1	Area of tertiary impact	Mentioned in passing or implied
0	No impact	Not mentioned

Table 3-2

OVERVIEW OF TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS
OF CURRICULUM'S IMPACT ON STUDENTS
(Average Rating in District)

	Brookline (n=5)	Great Neck (n=5)	NYC (n=9)	Philadelphia (n=12)
A. Very emotional experience	1.0	2.5	1.6	2.7
B. Holds students' interest; challenging and great excitement in learning	2.8	1.9	1.7	2.4
C. Confronts prejudice/ racism/anti-Semitism	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.8

Table 3-2
(continued)

	Brookline (n=5)	Great Neck (n=5)	NYC (n=9)	Philadelphia (n=12)
D. Increases awareness of other people, individual differences and group differences	2.5	1.5	1.1	1.7
E. Better able to draw parallels to contemporary situations; understanding of democratic institutions	1.7	1.5	0.2	1.1
F. Better reasoning and more able to question authority	1.9	0.0	0.2	0.4

Teachers feel that learning about the Holocaust is a strong emotional encounter for their students, particularly in Philadelphia and Great Neck. Teachers also report that the material holds students' interest, that it is challenging and that it engenders a great deal of excitement in learning, particularly in Brookline and Philadelphia. One suspects that a key component is to focus students' primary reactions into creative and appropriate ways: Brookline teachers are especially likely to do so by paying great attention to underlying moral themes and dilemmas.

Teachers feel that Holocaust education has a moderate

impact on teaching students about prejudice, racism and inter-group relations, particularly in Philadelphia and less so in Brookline and Great Neck. One suspects that prejudice and racism are more salient issues in a less affluent, big city school system than in a more affluent town or suburban system. Brookline teachers are particularly likely to stress that Holocaust education increases awareness of other people and individuals, perhaps because their teaching strategy on this point is clearly thought through. Brookline and Great Neck teachers describe their students as being better able to draw parallels to contemporary situations and better able to question authority after learning about the Holocaust; Philadelphia teachers feel that drawing comparison to contemporary situations is an area of tertiary import.

In sum, teachers report that their students are very excited and interested in learning about the Holocaust; what exactly they learn is harder to discern, and will be the subject of the next chapter.

6.3 Teaching Strategies

By and large, teachers in all four districts report very little difference in teaching their classes about the Holocaust. But, as there is much greater student interest

in the material, students are more willing to read and write; they are very eager to express themselves in research projects, book reports, journals and diaries. Class discussions tend to be more provocative and wide ranging than usual.

Audio-visual materials and presentations by Holocaust survivors are important and often used teaching aids for teachers in most schools, as described in Table 3-3. Role-play situations are utilized much less frequently.

Table 3-3

AIDS FOR HOLOCAUST INSTRUCTION
(Percent of Teachers Using Aids Extensively)

TYPE OF AID	Brookline (n=5)	Great Neck (n=5)	NYC (n=9)	Philadelphia (n=11)
Films and other audio-visual material	100%	100%	56%	70%
Survivors and other witnesses as speakers	80%	70%	22%	52%
Role play situations	20%	20%	17%	30%

7.0 Implications and Interpretations

Teachers consistently echoed a familiar refrain:

when students are interested in the material, when they are emotionally involved with the content of the unit, they are much more likely to learn. Although we cannot prove it, one suspects that a teacher's interest in the topic itself is a catalyst. Students take the material seriously and learn because teachers are personally involved with the topic. Over and over teachers report that even usually uninvolved students find the content very compelling participate in the class discussions and want to do the work required. Teaching about the Holocaust has the curious effect of motivating students to learn.

The educational issue, then, is to develop strategies to focus and channel students' energies in meaningful ways towards specific topics and issues. Brookline teachers most clearly describe tangible consequences to Holocaust education while teachers in Philadelphia, New York City and Great Neck focus on educational processes. Each teacher seeks to develop strategies to link the historical events, their causes and their meanings to teenagers' personal lives and world views.

CHAPTER IV

LEARNING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There is little question, in our opinion, that Holocaust education has a considerable impact on students. Time and again students described that learning about the Holocaust was a "unique experience," with a "powerful subject matter" that was "about impossible to comprehend." Students' reactions are consistent in many significant respects among the four districts we studied, a surprising result, since curriculum developers and teachers often emphasized different themes and the subject was taught at different grade school levels.

In this chapter we shall let the students speak for themselves, describing first the results of questionnaires given before and after studying about the Holocaust, and then results from small group interviews. Our objective is to describe the effects of Holocaust education on students themselves, in their own words and through their own concepts and categories.

Many students display a sophisticated understanding of the causes of prejudice and racism. Some have a ready awareness of the issues and moral judgments posed by the Holocaust which they say they did not know before. Almost

all students we talked to are ready and willing to generalize from particular historical events to events in their own lives and times. In so doing, most emphasize that learning about the Holocaust was a positive and worthwhile experience, different from any other unit studied in school.

How students understand the Holocaust and its implications is a complicated matter. They are overwhelmed with numbers, with concrete events, with the graphic, visual representatives of historical realities which are more powerful than theories, abstractions, or hundreds of words. They are moved by individual stories. They treat the material with a great deal of respect and wonder about its lessons for their own lives. They see the Holocaust as an event in human history, not simply an epoch in Jewish history. Rather than a transcendent event whose roots lie beyond one's capacity to comprehend, the Holocaust has knowable causes and perplexing consequences, which each must struggle to understand on his or her own terms.

2.0 General Approach and Methods

Assessing the impact of Holocaust education on students depends in no small measure on the questions asked. We have derived a multi-faceted approach, designed to probe students' responses at different levels,

combining in-depth insights derived from small-group interviews with generalized themes and objective measures from survey questions. Our goal is to capture and characterize the wide ranges of reactions, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

Again, working through the central school administrators or curriculum developers described in Chapter Three we invited three to five exemplary teachers in each district to participate in the Student Impact Study (the number of teachers, classes and students by grade level is presented in Table 4-1). The pre-post questionnaires comprised three components:

- Two short-answer questions designed to elicit interpretations about the cause of the Holocaust and the social context in which it occurred. The resulting categories were derived from an analysis of student responses;

- Nine vocabulary terms designed as a brief measure of factual knowledge;

- A shortened, two-story version of the Defining Issues Test, a scale of developmental moral judgments developed by James R. Rest at the

University of Minnesota.*

Table 4-1

NUMBER OF TEACHERS, CLASSES AND STUDENTS BY DISTRICT PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDENT IMPACT STUDY

	Brookline	Great Neck	NYC	Philadelphia
A. Number of Teachers	3	4	4	4
B. Number of Classes	6	8	8	5
(grades 7-9)	(6)	(7)	(2)	(3)
(grades 10-11)	—	(1)	(6)	(2)
C. Number of Students				
(pre-test)	77	173	257	123
(post-test)	84	118	162	98

To establish face validity to this questionnaire, we closely consulted the curriculum developers or school administrators in each district, making a number of revisions and incorporating all of their suggestions. The end result was a single instrument related to the educational objectives of the curriculum in all four districts, included in Appendix C.

* See James R. Rest, Development in Judging Moral Issues, (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1979) for a thorough discussion of the psychometric properties of this scale.

To balance the written questionnaire responses we conducted in-depth face-to-face interviews with small groups of students. Designed to probe attitudes, understand reasoning and generalizations related to the Holocaust, interview questions included:

- Do you think this unit on the Holocaust should be taught? Was it different from other courses you have had?

- What do you think you have learned? What do you think you will remember next year?

- Why do you think the Holocaust happened?

- Why do you think some people risked their lives to save others?

- Do you think the Holocaust could happen here? Do you think it could happen again? How could we avoid it?

We sought to develop insights into students' reactions, providing them with a number of opportunities to discuss among themselves both what they have learned and how they might interpret the meaning of the Holocaust.

3.0 Shifts in Student Learning: A Quantitative Perspective

No single data set adequately describes student learning about the Holocaust or how students' reactions vary among the four districts. While students acquire a basic core of material in all districts, there are some subtle differences in responses, suggesting that students may draw different kinds of implications for the same general information.

3.1 Factual Learning

We have measured factual learning by correct responses to nine vocabulary words. As one might expect, students know more correct definitions after studying about the Holocaust than before -- on the average 1.5 to 3.2 definitions more, depending on the district, as indicated in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4-2

VOCABULARY KNOWLEDGE
(Mean Number of Words Correct and Standard Deviation)

	Brookline	Great Neck	NYC	Philadelphia
Pre-test	4.0 (2.0)	5.2 (2.2)	4.7 (2.5)	4.0 (2.4)
Post-test	7.2 (2.2)	6.8 (2.4)	6.2 (2.6)	6.3 (2.6)

This is hardly a surprising result but it is nevertheless reassuring. One expects that if students have learned anything during their unit or course, they will have more factual knowledge at the end. The vocabulary test shows that students are learning new information in all four districts. It is also important to point out that the largest gains occur where students initially know the least -- in Brookline and Philadelphia. Comparatively speaking, students in New York City and Great Neck know more about the Holocaust before the course. This may be due to a greater popular awareness about the Holocaust in these two districts.

3.2 Learning to Judge Moral Issues

We measured the development of judging moral issues using an abridged (two-story) version of the Defining Issues Text, a carefully tested and widely used psychological instrument. This test is the only measure of moral issues currently available that can be administered feasibly to large groups of students and economically scored. In view of the explicit or implied goals of all Holocaust curricula to help students think about moral problems, the Defining Issues Text provides a formal scale to measure whether

changes in moral reasoning have occurred.*

The fundamental assumptions of moral judgment research are that a person's "moral judgments reflect an underlying organization of thinking and that these organizations develop through a definite succession of transformations" (Rest, 1979). Items on the Defining Issues Text are designed to measure one's level of reasoning about moral issues.

As reported in Table 4-3, we find no evidence that students have further developed their ability to judge moral issues as a result of learning about the Holocaust. There are only slight positive increases in the D-Scored Index in three of the four districts between the pre-test and the post-test.

A number of factors may explain these results. We chose the Defining Issues Text because we could easily administer it to large groups of students. One can certainly argue that the traits measured by this instrument are not specifically those taught by individual curricula

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* Rest's Defining Issues Text is scaled using Davidson's D-Score Index, an empirically weighted sum of responses to ratings on the twelve items following each story. The D-Score Index has been adjusted to reflect the two-story version used for this study. Rest has not reported population norms for the D-Score Index; so the numbers reported here can only be judged relative to one another.

and thus that the test lacks external validity. One can also argue that the traits measured are basic psychological processes that are unlikely to be advanced by a short-term educational intervention.* Thus the claims of individual Holocaust curricula to sensitize students to moral issues are not necessarily invalid. But developing an awareness of moral dilemmas does not necessarily lead to a greater development of moral judgments, such that students are better able to formulate moral choices than before.

Finally, one suspects that sensitizing students to moral questions may be part of a different kind of educational process than simply judging moral issues in the abstract. Learning about the Holocaust for students may become a personal educational experience where each must find individual meaning for the events in his or her own life. Finding no observable charges on the Defining Issues Test may also suggest that students are able to learn about the Holocaust without necessarily subverting the way they perceive their world and judge moral problems within it.

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* Reviewing intervention studies Rest does not report changes in deciding moral issues at the junior high or senior high school level (Rest 1979).

TABLE 4-3

DEFINING ISSUES TEST-ABRIDGED VERSION
(MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON D-SCORE INDEX)

	Brookline	Great Neck	NYC	Philadelphia
A. Pre-test	25.4 (3.4)	25.7 (4.0)	24.6 (3.7)	25.2 (3.2)
B. Post-test	25.4 (3.7)	26.6 (3.7)	25.2 (3.7)	25.6 (3.1)

3.3 Underlying Themes of Holocaust Awareness

Holocaust education affects students' attitudes and opinions in a number of notable ways.* They are more aware of the complex nature of events that account for the Holocaust in economic and social terms at the end of their unit or course. They are more likely to emphasize prejudice and racism as a cause of the Holocaust, and by extension as one of the major themes they have learned. They are less likely to blame the Holocaust on a single factor -- a "bad person" or a "bad government." There are important differences and changes among districts, indicative both of differences in the initial climate of opinion and the varied effects of Holocaust education.

* The results of this section derive from a content analysis of open ended questions. The criteria used to categorize responses were developed empirically following the survey.

Students in all four districts are more likely to cite economic factors such as high unemployment, the Depression or Hitler's promise of economic prosperity as reasons for why people joined the Nazi Party, as indicated in Table 4-4. But in three of the four districts -- Philadelphia, New York City, and Great Neck -- economic factors have replaced social factors as the most frequently cited reason. Only in Brookline do social factors such as peer group pressure, the power of the Party, Hitler's charismatic appeal or susceptibility of people in a mass movement continue to be most often mentioned after the unit. Political factors -- such as war guilt, German nationalism, or the power of a small clique to rule ruthlessly -- are less frequently cited after the unit in Brookline and Great Neck; only in New York City are political factors given proportionally greater weight. Thus, comparing students' responses before and after the Holocaust units suggests the themes stressed by the curricula.

TABLE 4-4

WHY PEOPLE JOIN NAZI PARTY
(PERCENT RESPONSES)

Reasons	Brookline pre	Brookline post	Great Neck pre	Great Neck post	NYC pre	NYC post	Philadelphia pre	Philadelphia post
A. Economic Factors	9	29	22	47	18	41	14	46
B. Political Factors	21	10	16	9	11	14	11	10
C. Leadership Factors	8	10	16	13	15	9	8	11
D. Social Factors and Propaganda	35	37	28	23	21	21	30	26
E. Anti-Semitism/Racism	14	7	4	3	12	7	12	2
F. Other	0	2	1	0	1	4	1	0
G. Don't Know	13	6	14	5	23	6	24	5

Students in all four districts most often cited prejudice and racism as reasons for explaining the Holocaust as indicated in Table 4-5. But in two of the four districts -- Brookline and Philadelphia -- there was a considerable increase in the importance of this factor while studying about the Holocaust; in these two districts in particular students learned how themes of prejudice and racism were related to the Holocaust. In Great Neck, after the unit,

students were slightly less likely to blame the Holocaust on prejudice and racism. This is an interesting result in itself, probably due to the high degree of initial awareness among students; after the unit they were willing to acknowledge that other factors besides prejudice had been important as well.

Similarly, simply blaming Hitler for the Holocaust (such reasons as Hitler was crazy; Hitler made them; Hitler caused it) declined between the pre- and post-tests in two districts -- Brookline and Philadelphia. Again, this implies that students developed a greater awareness of the causes of the Holocaust (and by inference its consequences as well) such that they began to think about its meaning in new and different ways. Blaming Hitler is an easy off-the-cuff explanation; students in these districts in particular are more likely to offer additional reasons for the Holocaust, thereby indicating that they understand how other factors accounted for genocide.

In sum, students' learning relates to teachers' goals and the specific objectives of individual curriculum. Students learn about the Holocaust in terms of prejudice, racism, and the responsibilities of many people and events. Teaching students the history of the Holocaust -- why and when particular events occurred -- is associated with a

greater emphasis on economic factors, rather than on political factors or social forces. Perhaps economic explanations are the easiest to teach or have the greatest meaning to students in their own lives. Only Brookline students continue to give great weight to social factors after the unit, indicative of this curriculum's particular objective of "facing history and ourselves," where students are encouraged to focus on the underlying social and psychological contexts that are illustrated by specific events.

TABLE 4-5

WHY HOLOCAUST HAPPENED
(Percentage Responses)

Reasons	Brookline pre	Brookline post	Great Neck pre	Great Neck post	NYC pre	NYC post	Philadelphia pre	Philadelphia post
Prejudice/Racism/ anti-Semitism	31	55	57	53	40	41	51	61
Jews	2	0	0	2	4	6	0	2
Rest	0	5	2	4	9	17	2	11
Germans	12	9	5	6	5	6	5	7
Nazis	5	4	5	3	2	2	2	2
Hitler	36	11	20	23	16	13	22	11
Social forces	3	4	1	1	3	9	2	4
Other	0	7	3	2	2	2	1	2
Don't know/No response	12	5	7	4	20	4	17	2

4.0 Lessons from the Holocaust: A Qualitative Interpretation

Students learn many lessons from studying about the Holocaust best expressed in their own words and thoughts. In this section we will examine how students understood four basic themes common to the Holocaust curricula:

- Their feeling about prejudice and racism in their own lives and in the lives of others around them;
- Their knowledge of why the Holocaust happened, who was responsible and for what reasons;
- Their own personal sense of making choices and deciding what they individually would do in specific situations;
- Their own ability to generalize and interpret from specific historical situations to contemporary events.

We conducted 40 to 50 minute interviews with small groups of students from each of the participating classes. Groups averaged 4 to 6 students each and provided an opportunity for extended discussions about the course or unit. (The interviewer's questions are presented in Appendix C.) As we shall discuss below, students in each

school district expressed many common concerns about Holocaust education -- what they had learned and what they thought was most important. Nevertheless, there are striking differences in how students interpret the meaning of the Holocaust in their own lives.

4.1 Brookline

Brookline students described scapegoating, prejudice and discrimination in terms of their effects on human behavior in general and their own behavior in particular. Scapegoating in Nazi Germany had economic roots, as one student observed: "The country was in really bad economic straights (sic) and they (the Germans) proceeded to blame someone for their problems and they just took a minority and it was a small minority... they just started trying to pick the easiest scapegoat." Another student in a different group commented, "They (the Germans) were upset because they didn't have jobs and it was easy for Hitler to blame the Jews and for others to follow... it was easy to scapegoat the Jews and other people... it started with them (the Jews) but a lot of other people got caught in the Holocaust." Other students vividly recounted the remarks of one speaker, Father Robert Bullock, and his discussion on the roots of anti-Semitism. "Anger is just

against one person while hating was towards a whole group of people... hating and anti-Semitism became the energy for the Holocaust." Hitler was able to use anti-Semitism in Germany to suit his own ends.

The Holocaust had knowable causes and consequences. It happened "because people were stupid and did not understand or see that Hitler was gaining a lot of power. They believed him because they wanted to." This history came to have a very personal meaning to the students. "Like everyone had to salute Hitler and kids had to go to special clubs. Everyone was just devoted to Hitler." "They had no choice; if they tried to resist they were shot. If kids didn't salute they put parents in jail because they thought it was the parents' fault that they weren't teaching them respect for Hitler." And this history served to illustrate many of the larger themes of the social studies curriculum. "Last year we learned about human rights, the Constitution, and democracy. Here we have an example of what happens without democratic government." "It's good to learn about the Constitution right before because it made the Holocaust unit much more meaningful." Contrasts and contradictions became abundantly clear.

The class discussions "serve to make you think about your own life and other people's lives," for the

unit enables students to reflect beyond historical events to contemporary situations of morality and evil. This unit "makes you think about your own life," one student remarked. '"Sometimes I think I'm so unlucky when I have all this homework, but then I think back to people during the Holocaust just begging for some water; I shake out of it and say 'forget it.'"

For many students one important implication of the Holocaust involves developing a personal sense of responsibility for decisions. "You have to learn to stand up for your rights, even if fear is involved." "Many people thought they would get killed if they did get involved and nothing would happen to them if they stayed out of it since Hitler was going after the Jews." Only a few risked their lives to save others.

A few people had a sense of moral responsibility and tried to act on it. Others felt that things were wrong but were unable to do anything. "Some people wanted to help the Jews but didn't realize how bad things really were." The issue of responsibility extends to a national level as well: "The United States did not really help until much later; I thought that the United States was a really big place that would help; then I found out they didn't really help and it was kind of disappointing." In

an admittedly imperfect fashion, students struggled to express the moral responsibility of others about what they should have done. Whether the Holocaust could happen again, or whether it could happen here was an open question students cautiously and thoughtfully generalized to contemporary events. It would be harder for the same thing to happen here "because of our system of check and balances." But "Reagan and Haig have the power to destroy the world" if they so choose." "If the Holocaust did happen, no one would recognize it." There was little consensus, but many opinions.

Preventing another Holocaust was a different matter. A key component was awareness: knowing the limits of human potential, particularly in the extreme. "If something is evil, resist it right away. All of us have the potential to do stupid things." Exposure is a key factor.

In sum, learning about the Holocaust for Brookline students raised many issues and dilemmas and offered few solutions. By their own reports, it engaged their interests and emotions in many new ways. It posed meaningful problems that they had not previously thought about. It made them think about ideas and values that they felt they needed to know as they advanced through their teenage years. Perhaps, for the first time, they felt they had to try to

make moral judgments. Facing History and Ourselves was an emotionally demanding course but one whose content was well worth the effort.

4.2 Great Neck

For students in Great Neck, studying about the Holocaust had a special twist. The majority of students we interviewed were Jewish and a sense of Jewish consciousness pervaded all of their discussions, even when non-Jewish students had to relate to the Jewish concerns of their peers. Consequently, Holocaust education took on a personal and profound meaning: many students had studied about the Holocaust in Hebrew school, but in public school, one student observed, there was "less concern with the personal story, the personal Jewish tradition" and more emphasis "on a detached historical perspective." Another student observed, by comparison, that the public school curriculum used "more factual accounts and more visual aids." The unit was unlike any other course they had had in school because, to paraphrase a number of students, the material was more immediate and relevant not only to their academic life but to their family life and other relationships. While Jewish students had their own special involvement in the course, non-Jewish students felt, as

one student put it "there should have been more attention paid to the other victims as well."

In other words, Holocaust education here aroused very different kinds of feelings about prejudice and discrimination than in the other three districts. In part students perceived these concepts as a conflict between Jews and the larger society. It reminded them of other persecutions of the Jews. It is striking that only a few of the students interviewed mentioned how the Holocaust was an outgrowth of prejudice and anti-Semitism in Germany and other countries.

Students felt they had learned many things from studying about the Holocaust, both in terms of history (what happened and why) and interpretations. They learned "how Hitler came to power"; "the force a leader can exert"; "how some Jewish children were trained to resist, actively and passively"; "how a minority was in danger"; "the brutality of the concentration camps." They were "devastated and could not believe it." What students learned had a didactic tone as well: "People will more easily believe a lie than a more difficult truth." "Nothing the Germans did would ever be surprising." "People try to see the bright side of everything no matter how grim it is." Beyond moralizing, students also responded phi-

losophically. Adolescents are naturally critical of the system, one student remarked because "we need to know the facts, the historical facts. Who else will do the changing if we do not?" "We are in our most impressionable years and we ought to be impressed now with the necessity for justice." The Holocaust provides a "negative example" about the effects of injustice.

Students struggled to find personal meaning in the material. As one student said, what he learned was "incredible and the more you learned the more incredible it became, literally incredible." "You must believe, particularly when things are frightening, when hearing them only in rumors, you must believe." One student felt that "there must be international organizations to monitor the actions of nations," while another felt that "we must learn to hear individual voices and give them credence." Another despaired at the possibility for collective action as it is difficult "for an individual or for a small minority to change the course of a national event."

The meaning of the Holocaust, however, revolved around a familiar theme: learning about the Holocaust is essential "so that it will not happen again." However, this theme had two meanings, one for Jews and the other for people in general. The Holocaust could not happen

again "because the Jews are too alert, too united." "There was no unified Israel" during the Nazi era so "it could not happen again." In some sense that individual students did not describe, the state of Israel serves as a protector. Others pointed out that Israel itself, surrounded by enemies, was at peril.

Generalizing to other groups, something like the Holocaust might only recur "when people are not unified," when there was "a vulnerable and exposed minority, troubled times, a strong leader and followers." But there were many minority groups in the United States and many people concerned with minority rights which, students felt, made a recurrence most unlikely. There were "too many people that watched, and people were too vocal in their protest... thus if the Ku Klus Klan did kill someone in the South it would only be a one time thing." A large scale mass movement could not be mounted.

Other students were considerably less sanguine. One observed that yes, it could happen again because in times of uncertainty "we tend to look towards our leaders and look uncritically at them." "It is possible for a great number of people to be led into accepting something they would not ordinarily do." Moreover the Nisei experience during the Second World War showed that something

similar could happen in the United States "for sure." Study about the Holocaust aroused a great deal of "shock and anger that it could happen again."

What students were able to do with this anger and what they felt the responsibilities of others should have been was a different matter. Many of the students felt that America in particular should have become involved at a much earlier stage, and other governments during the 1930's and '40's should have done more to protect their Jewish citizens, or accept Jewish refugees. What seemed most important to students now had to do with what happened in their own school. In one high school some students had been part of a group called SHARE (Stop Hatred And Respond Effectively) which had organized a day-long teach-in on reducing prejudice during the winter. This organization had been formed in the fall after the high school had been vandalized one night with anti-Semitic graffiti and students and teachers felt they needed to do something to express their outrage. "Kids in my own town can do this; kids that I grew up with could be in such total ignorance and have such hatred." Something had to be done so that anti-Semitism at the high school did not happen again.

In sum, students' responses to Holocaust education in Great Neck are qualitively different from those in other

districts, even though they express comparable themes. For Great Neck students, understanding the Holocaust in their own lives concerns coming to terms with relationships between Jews and non-Jews in historical time and in the present.

4.3 New York City

In comparison with Brookline, Great Neck and Philadelphia, New York City students spent relatively little time describing the Holocaust in terms of the consequences of prejudice, racism, scapegoating and discrimination. One suspects that these more standard approaches as to why the Holocaust occurred were of slight interest. Rather, they seemed to be preoccupied with the study of the Holocaust as a study of the causes and consequences of evil.

As one senior described it, in other courses "we learned about what happened during the War and even though horrible things happened -- bombings, soldiers dying -- they were normal. But this time we learned about 'bad things' that men did that were not normal and that happened for no reason." Or as another student in the same group exclaimed "Who had the right to do this? How could someone have thought to do this?"

From the perspective of another group, using the Holocaust as a forum to discuss racial problems was not really appropriate; the topic in itself was cold, harsh and difficult. Rather, the first time these students faced something "where men are not good but basically evil," and, initially at least, this realization releases hard-to-handle emotions. This group was concerned with working through and understanding their own responses and reactions. Or as another predominantly black group of seniors explained, they looked forward to their class about the Holocaust because "it was something different, it was a study of human relationships in which people could get their feelings out."

Learning about the Holocaust provided students with many opportunities to understand political and social factors from varying points of view as well as to explore their own emotions. "We have no right to judge what the victims should have done," one group explained. "They were victims. It would be cheap for us to judge; we were safe; they were in jeopardy. It is more important to ask why the Nazis did what they did than to ask why the victims did not react differently." In their own lives they would compare this situation to a woman being raped: the emphasis should be not on what the woman did or why she was there

but on the violence that was done to her.

By comparison, seniors in the predominantly black group felt that the victims should have done something, they could have "at least killed one Nazi even if it meant they were going to be killed anyway." "There was nothing to be gained by being law abiding; they should have had revolts." But the problem of whether and how a woman should resist if she was being raped produced no clearcut answers: one girl volunteered that yes, she would "fight back, but only if she had a backup." Brave words were tempered by realism.

Similarly, the issue of what the rest of the world should have done produced different points of view and ideas about where responsibility lay. At the simplest level, many students unquestioningly remarked that most people "had no knowledge of the Holocaust at all," at least until it was too late: Nazi propaganda cleverly masked what was going on. One of the students in a predominantly black group explained that "even though the world did know but not exactly it was really a case of everybody saying "it's not me; I'm not there, so what the hell!" "Who's responsible is not a question because really nobody is to blame -- things just happened." Students in another group were more sanguine: "Unless it hurts you individually

you are not going to get involved." Studying the Holocaust seemed to heighten a certain sense of apathy and powerlessness.

That the Holocaust might happen again, that it could happen here was taken as a given, particularly "if people were desperate enough, if they were frightened enough," if there was a depression and people felt they had no place to go. Minority groups, blacks, and Hispanics would be particularly likely targets. But having raised the issues, students had only rudimentary ideas about what they could do, or what should be done to prevent another Holocaust. One group mentioned that "neo-Nazis and the KKK ought to be restrained." An uninformed populace, our rapidly developing technology and the tremendous power of the media to influence opinions, only add to the dangers. Teaching about the Holocaust was one way to make sure that it does not happen again.

In short, for the junior and senior high school students we talked to, learning about the Holocaust raised many deep feelings: "the rest of the world should have done something," one girl said because "it (the world) was facing the epitome of evil." But, students did not really talk about how they would translate their thoughts and feelings into specific actions, as they were unable

to control events around them.

4.4 Philadelphia

Philadelphia students were very aware of the consequences of prejudice and racism both in terms of what happened to the Jews and what might happen to them in their own lives. Learning about the Holocaust provided many opportunities to discuss how and why the Nazis were able to exclude and then proceed to destroy the Jews so effectively. Stereotyping obviously had a role. One group, for instance, described stereotypes at length when explaining what they had learned in the unit, and then proceeded to explain the importance of breaking them down, and not always stereotyping people. Another group spoke for a while on how easy it was to see other races and people as different and therefore not really worth caring about. They described how Hitler and the Nazis were able to stereotype all Jews, exclude them from German society and finally herd them into ghettos as part of the Final Solution. Quite perceptively students in this group wanted to describe how the victims then felt about what was happening to them: the self-hatred, the dehumanization, the growing sense of powerlessness. In a comparable situation, more than one student said he or she probably

would have given up and chosen suicide as the only way out. One suspects that students frequently felt so overwhelmed with the sheer power of the material that they could not really say what their own reactions would be.

In Philadelphia, students' knowledge of history was also colored by their ability to interpret historical events. For example, one group of students described that they would most likely remember Hitler's skill "to seduce his followers" into believing him, thus "abdicating any critical ability" that might challenge his authority. They could explain that this Holocaust occurred because of the political realities and social conditions of Hitler's Germany. However, they would not (and did not) mention historical anti-Semitism: "Jews were chosen as Hitler's prime target because they were there" and not because there were historical precedents for using them as scapegoats.

The issue "Why the Holocaust occurred" in another group led to a long discussion about majority rule: a minority feels weak and tends to hold back to see which way the majority will go. "The majority rules; so shut up or die." The historical lesson, then, was that "the victims had to face the fact that there was majority rule in Germany" and although "it was certainly unjust, it was the majority's rule." Moreover, "Hitler believed in him-

self and was not afraid to proclaim that he had some answers." Students presented a stark conception of history, and their comments were not tempered by any discussion of constitutional processes, checks and balances, or the rights of minorities.

With very little discussion, students in many of the groups said they felt "the Holocaust could happen again" and that it "could happen here." Many felt that blacks and illegal alien Hispanics, particularly in the Southwest, were the most likely victims due to discrimination, unemployment and deeply rooted social problems. Rather than universal assent, one black girl, while accepting the premise, was quick to point out that "this could not happen to blacks right now because they were too together." And in contrast one group in a majority-white working class high school went on to argue that the Holocaust was "kind of a fluke," and found it difficult to imagine that any group in America "could be brought to a point of extreme jeopardy."

What students felt they could do in their own lives to avoid future Holocausts was much harder to discern. Students in many groups felt they needed "to know, to study, to learn, the causes and to watch for beginnings." Just what the possible signs of beginnings would be were not

always clearly articulated. On a number of occasions students mentioned -- almost in passing -- that the rest of the world in some sense is partially responsible for the Holocaust: something should have been done if only to express the outrage. "Realists" in individual groups would then explain that not much could have been done prior to 1939 without declaring war: consider, by analogy, how ineffectual political protests have been in Afghanistan. Others felt that nothing really could be done; the Jews and the rest of the world were powerless.

In short, Philadelphia students discussed at length the specifics of how and why the Holocaust occurred and had a number of fairly well crystallized explanations. What they were then able to do with this information -- in terms of relating it to their own lives, to help them make better personal decisions, to consider alternative points of view -- is much harder to discern. Compared to their explanations and reasoning, students' descriptions of what they personally would do were much less detailed. This is perhaps a consequence of the curriculum's emphasis more on the historical record, the factual basis of the Holocaust, with relatively less attention given to presenting a definite point of view about what the specific event per se meant.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Holocaust education is not only recounting the history of specific events. What is unfolding in the process of teaching about the Holocaust is something much more than just that. As the material touches the students, they touch it in return and we see the Americanization of the Holocaust. Common to all of the curricula described in this report is the central theme that the Holocaust becomes an instrument by which we teach the fundamental values of American Society:

democracy

pluralism and respect for difference

freedom from prejudice

individual responsibility

anti-racism

Whereas in the professional literature of the Holocaust, which is the chief concern of the scholars and academics, of the theologians and rabbis, three issues predominate:

1) the uniqueness and/or universality of the Holocaust

2) the Holocaust as the mysterium tremendum -- the awesome mystery -- which dares not be penetrated but merely described or barely approached

3) the Holocaust as the source of an absolute separateness and distinctiveness among people.

These, however, are not the starting points for the curricula studied. All the curricula have a common methodological assumption that the Holocaust was profoundly and distinctly a human experience, committed by human beings, suffered through and undergone by human beings, in a human society.

The Holocaust seen as a fundamentally human experience can be approached and dealt with. It can be discussed and, yes, even understood and learned from by students from grades 7 through 12.

Beyond the emotional encounter students learned a great deal. We see from the questionnaire surveys in the four districts that students gained new factual information and that they developed a more comprehensive understanding of the factors accounting for the Holocaust. There are distinct trends among districts, in part due to differences in curricula, and in part due to the different characters

of individual school systems. For instance, Brookline students continued to emphasize the importance of social forces that led people to join the Nazi party while students in Great Neck, New York City and Philadelphia stressed the role of economic factors and the Great Depression. This may be indicative of the differences in emphasis between the Brookline curriculum and the other three -- between examining and explaining human behavior, and investigating and questioning human history. Or to take another example, students in Brookline, New York City and Philadelphia gained a greater awareness of the role of prejudice and anti-Semitism in the Holocaust after the unit. Great Neck students, by comparison, were already very aware of the role of anti-Semitism, and their learning led them to consider the importance of other factors.

The Holocaust curricula are not used, as some might have feared, to differentiate between Jews and non-Jews, but rather they become an instrumentality by which the barriers between students are reduced and even occassionally breached. One black student spoke about telling the Holocaust story in his Brooklyn neighborhood where it had never been heard and getting the response "God, we thought we had it bad!" In Great Neck, a predominantly Jewish community, we see that this unit, instead of inten-

sifying differences, sparked some of the most honest and personal discussions the students ever had in their entire educational experience.

Over and over again we heard reports that the Holocaust was regarded as special, as unique and as distinct. But it was unique because its content was of a distinctly intensive human character which had the power to attract and resonate in the life of the student. It had the ability to engage and challenge the student as nothing had before. Teachers in every district and in almost every interview stated that they did not change their method of teaching for this subject matter. Using texts, visual aides, perhaps they planned more time for discussion. They thought the course was so different, so successful, because of the content of the material. But as the interviews proceeded it was evident that the traditional methodologies were too narrow to channel the flood tide of student interest. We heard of student research in newspaper archieves, librarians being hard pressed to meet slow learners' demands for more books they could read, survivors engaged in serious, searching dialogue with students, propaganda techniques being exposed in television commercials. Artists ran the gauntlet of questions on how they could put the horrible into

artistic form and whether they should do so.

If this report says anything it says that with regard to the Holocaust, the content prevails, and most methods, no matter how predictable, will suffice. Yet the content spoke so compellingly and so deeply engaged the entire student that the methodology altered accordingly. One must recall these students were not only Jewish students or black students but all that rich mix of class, color, multi-national heritage and range of religious belief and commitment to be found in the American Public School System.

There are cautions that are raised:

One of the problems that haunts the theologians, the historians and particularly the survivors is the danger of cheap analogies of the Holocaust eroding the meaning of certain terms, which, because of the freight of suffering and memory they carry, have become endowed with a sacred character. And yet if the student relates the Holocaust deeply to his/her personal life how can we protect from inadequate or cheap analogies? As the Holocaust enters the main stream of public education there is no protection, and we think it may be safely said it needs no protection. One of the things we might discover from this research is that the content in itself is such that

it establishes its own integrity and imposes the extent of its valid use.

The second caution that is raised by scholars, rabbis and moralists, is the question of judgment.

Premature judgment may be immature judgment. The Talmud instructs, "Do not judge a person until you stand in his place." American pop music pleads with the hearer "to walk a mile in my shoes." So over and over again the students turn back to those brutal times and ask, "What would I do?"; "What should have been done?"; "How would I have chosen?": forever testing themselves, their moral integrity, the range of their empathy and the sense of their common bond of humanity.

We began by saying that something profound is happening in Holocaust education: it is the Americanization of the Holocaust. As an event of this magnitude is incorporated into the American educational system the lens through which the data is seen is necessarily an American one. The categories relate to the experience of American students in various communities throughout this country and also to their teachers. There is no resisting this tide, and indeed from our research we find that the uniqueness of the Holocaust is underscored by this process of

filtration and absorption. Indeed its specialness is its own best witness, communicating itself most profoundly, most clearly and incontrovertibly.

The perceptible differences among districts are really secondary to a larger educational theme: Holocaust education works best when students directly relate the information to their own personal concerns and to their own lives. For some New York City students, for example, this meant considering resistance in the context of whether and under what conditions they would resist a potential rapist. They well understood the victims' dilemmas when confronted with overwhelming force. For some Philadelphia students, to take another example, relating themes to their own lives meant understanding how groups can stereotype one another. It is very easy for some groups to see others as racially different and therefore not really worth caring about. What happened to the Jews in the 1930's and '40's could well happen to another group in the future unless individuals are able to recognize the dangers and act decisively.

We must risk pointing out the obvious. There is much learning that takes place in these classes not only in the cognitive domain but such affect is engaged that the outcome defies imagination to predict. We have students

making the bleak statement that in the Holocaust they see not only the incident of a social structure perverted and eventually destroyed but also an intensified perception of the human condition. As one black student whose colorful language kept a whole group sparkling said, "I guess the bottom line is there's an Adolph in me and an Adolph in you." Or a ninth grade girl sighed "I learned that my humanity is not a given, but a construct." And yet they react with a fundamental innocence -- an innocence that is rooted in the question they ask over and over again: "What is the responsibility that the individual bears, not only for his or her own fate, not only for those condemned to death or those who perpetrated the atrocity but also for those who lived on the planet in which the Holocaust happened?" They are left with the most profound of questions, "What should I do?"

Are they too young to face the abyss, to grapple with this material? Let them be their own witnesses.

"If these are our most impressionable years let us at least be impressed with the necessity for justice." "Everyone tells you kids are critical -- but who else is going to fix up this mess."

We can also cite evidence of the DIT standard test which shows that their exposure to the Holocaust did

not shatter their moral structures or rupture their patterns of judgments; they were able to organize it and deal with it within the framework of their adolescent ability and perception. They did not succumb; nor were they washed from their moorings. They incorporated, at least for now, this particularly difficult history.

In the short run these results may not give comfort to the moralists who somehow want to derive clear moral lessons or incontrovertible moral truths from the Holocaust; or to the evangelists who would convert all to a belief in the unmitigated evil of the perpetrators, the pristine sanctity of the victims, or the inexcusable indifference of the bystanders.

We must candidly say our investigation will not give comfort to those Jews who see the Holocaust exclusively from within the perspective of Jewish history and as the most profoundly painful of Jewish experiences. But over and over again this project shows that what took place within the classroom, in the lives of students, in the lives of the teachers and even in the life of the school itself, was education; education not without its problems, difficulties, inadequacies and even dangers. But perhaps in this time of diminished expectations and heightened criticism of the Public School System, one can report that

in communities with the rich resources of Great Neck, the diversity of Brookline, the tensions of New York, the divisions of Philadelphia; among the gifted and the less so, among blacks and whites, boys and girls, and Jews and non-Jews, religious and non-religious, education did take place. The curricula studied had a measurable, positive impact on those very values which undergird American society.

APPENDICES

Appendix A	List of Advisory Board
Appendix B	Curricula Information
Appendix C	All Instruments
Appendix D	The Holocaust: Students Creative Products

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

CURRICULA INFORMATION

SYLLABI

The Holocaust: A Study of Genocide, ORDER FROM: Board of Education of the City of New York, Publications Sales Office, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201 -- Checks should be made payable to: Auditor, Board of Education

The Holocaust: A Teacher Resource, ORDER FROM: Dr. Norman Klein, Curriculum Publications Department, Stevens Center, 13 and Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, PA 19123, 215-351-7245

Holocaust and Human Behavior, ORDER FROM: Ms. Margot Strom, Program Director, Facing History and Ourselves, 25 Kennard Road, Brookline, MA 02146, 617-734-1111, Ext. 335

Social Studies Holocaust Curriculum, ORDER FROM: Dr. Samuel Polatnick, Assistant Superintendent of Instruction, 345 Lakeville Road, Great Neck, NY 11020 516-482-8650

APPENDIX C

ALL INSTRUMENTS

HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT PROJECT

CURRICULUM DEVELOPERS INTERVIEW

INTRODUCTION AND IDENTIFICATION (Ask position in school.)

A. Scope and Content

1. Could we start with some statistical information. How many schools in your area are involved in Holocaust curriculum?

    a. How many teachers does this involve?
    b. How many classes?
    c. How many students?

2. At what grade levels is the Holocaust curriculum taught?

    a. Was there a particular reason or rationale for choosing this grade level?

    b. Is this curriculum optional (teacher/principal discretion) or mandatory (state requirement)?

    c. Is this curriculum part of a larger course study or a self-contained course?

3. Are non-public as well as public schools using the curriculum?

4. Is there any particular proportion in Race, sex, or ethnicity of students using the curriculum?

B. History

1. Who initiated the ideas for the Holocaust curriculum?

2. How did key figures from the community become involved?

CURRICULUM DEVELOPERS INTERVIEW

B. History (Continued)

3. Did your curriculum evolve froma pilot study to a system-wide effort?

4. How did the growing number of teachers become involved?

C. Teacher Training

1. How is the teacher prepared and trained prior to teaching the course?

2. Is there any in-service training or workshops while the course is being taught?

3. What kinds of resources are available to the teacher?

   a. Support personnel to draw on for ideas.
   b. Films, exhibits, for classroom use.
   c. Personal exposure to the Holocaust.

D. Organization and Dissemination

1. Who makes up your advisory group and how does this group function?

2. Is there a role for the local clergy, local educational groups, and other professional associations in your structure? Implemented?

3. Do you have any particular dissemination strategies -- either explicit or implicit?

4. Are other resource centers involved in your organizational structure? If so, what?

E. Community Input

1. How was the curricula proposed to your superintendent, and what was the school board's reaction?

CURRICULUM DEVELOPERS INTERVIEW

E. Community Input (Continued)

2. What kind of commitment has your school board made to this program?

3. Could you estimate the length of time from proposal to adoption?

4. Are parents aware that their children are studying the Holocaust?

5. Is there any evidence that the Holocaust curriculum has had any impact on the students' home life. (i.e., Jewish-Christian relations, genocide, etc...)

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HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT PROJECT

TEACHERS' INTERVIEW

A. Themes Emphasized

1. Could you briefly describe the general context of your Holocaust curriculum?

2. What are the main themes you try to get across to your students about the Holocaust?

   Probe:

   a. Context emphasized: history (world, European, German, American, Jewish); literature; philosophy.

   b. Intergroup relations, anti-Semitism, Jewish/Christian relations.

   c. Values education and/or values clarification; stages of moral development, etc.

3. Of the themes we've discussed, which ones do you think are your priority in your course?

B. Approaches and Methods Used

1. Do you primarily teach this course using traditional methods of lecture, reading, and discussion?

2. Do you ever role play or use game simulations?

3. Have you tried any audio-visual materials?

4. Has there ever been an opportunity for discussion or any first hand contact with Holocaust survivors?

TEACHERS' INTERVIEW

B. Approaches and Methods Used (Continued)

5. Do you assign homework in your course? What kind? (Reading, interviews, projects?)

6. Are tests and/or quizzes given in this course? (Oral or written?)

C. Teachers' Goals and Objectives

1. Do you have any special ideas or attitudes of your own toward teaching about the Holocaust?

2. Is there any apparent difference in children's reactions to learning about the Holocaust as compared to learning about other grade level subjects?

3. What aspects of the curriculum seem to have the greatest impact on students?

4. Could you site areas that you would consider having short-term effects on students? Other teachers?

5. What kinds of things would you estimate would have long-term effects on students?

6. What would you consider the greatest strength of the curriculum? How about weakness?

7. Have you any suggestions for improvement? (How and what?)

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HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT PROJECT

SMALL GROUP/STUDENT INTERVIEWS

1. Do you think this course on the Holocaust should be taught?

   Why or why not?

   How was this course on the Holocaust the same/different from other courses you have studied this year?

2. After studying about the Holocaust, what do you think you've learned?

   Which things were most important and why? (probe films, speakers, readings, etc.)

   What things do you think you will most likely remember next year?

3. Why do you think the Holocaust happened?

   Why do you think some people risked their lives to save other people during the Holocaust?

4. Could something like the Holocaust happen here?

   What can we do to avoid it?

APPENDIX D

THE HOLOCAUST: STUDENTS' CREATIVE PRODUCTS

During the course of our investigation, we requested that each student express himself/herself regarding the Holocaust in some kind of creative fashion. We left the product to the teachers' discretion and hoped that through analyzing what the students wrote, drew, and might have said, that we could gain reinforcement and possibly additional insight into the impact of Holocaust curricula on students. In academic fashion, we did a content analysis of the themes in the Holocaust products just to give us a general idea or notion as to what emerged or what impacted the most on the largest number of students. We found, however, that the content analysis (which is presented immediately below) was quite dissatisfying in terms of the eloquence and beauty of expression of the students' original products.

In order to convey to the reader some of the authentic or original feeling and eloquence, we follow the content analysis summary with a selection of expressions from students in the various classes studied which we regarded as both typical and responsive to the general curriculum spirit. These quotes follow the discussion of the content analysis.

Content Analysis Discussion

Five general categories fairly well cover the themes coded in the students' creative products: emotions, attitudes toward authorities and the Germans, specific feelings on death and murder, feelings toward potential fellow prisoners, and life in a concentration camp. Under these general categories we found that the emotions expressed (in descending order of frequency) were breakdown or loss of spirit, withdrawal or depression, anger or hatred or disgust, pain, loneliness, anxiety or tension or fear, and boredom. In terms of attitudes toward authorities, the camp, guards, and the Germans, there were far fewer specific responses but they generally were that the students felt they might resist a bit but be careful, they would obey to avoid punishment although some would resist order and resent the authorities, and a few would even try to escape. In terms of feelings on death and murder (a minor theme), two students felt that they would deceive themselves and try to ignore the fact that they might die, one student felt that she would become detached and not care anymore, and another felt that he would value life more afterwards. In terms of feelings

Content Analysis Discussion (Continued)

toward fellow prisoners, the strongest comment involved the fact that the students felt that they would not develop friendship for a variety of reasons -- there might rot be time, fear of death, it wouldn't be allowed, tension, you would have to put yourself first and distance yourself from others; furthermore, students felt that they would want to lift spirits and try to help others feel better and would want to help those worse off than they; they would want to make friends and be part of a group struggle of people trying to get out but imagining themselves in a prison camp situation; they primarily felt that they would not personally develop friendships with other people. Finally, what life would be like in a concentration camp involves multiple statements that students could not do normal things or enjoy life, they would be very concerned about survival and that would make other concerns petty, they would be affected possibly permanently and they would probably have to develop more independence than they currently had to survive. Given these general and dry themes, let's turn to some of the actual statements or selections from statements.

STUDENTS' CREATIVE PRODUCTS

Content Analysis Discussion (Continued)

The following ten statements were selected as being especially representative. The total set of products are available from the senior investigators.

1. "There is an evil presence before us. It effects usually people living in an urban area with a limited education. This evil is prejudice. We have all races, creeds, and colors living here together and we the American, must set an example for the rest of the world that all races, creeds, and colors can live together peacefully.

   Let's fact it people! There's good and bad in all races. You have to realize this in order to understand why prejudice is so wrong. So whoever reads this and disagrees with me, try being nice, and judge people individually, and not by what they believe in or the color of their skin. Remember, it's up to us to make a better world for our children to come."

Content Analysis Discussion (Continued)

2. "The Holocaust"

Holocaust is a world that kills. A world that hurts. Holocaust a rotten subject to learn. Holocaust a painful thing to remember. Will there ever be another? Let's all hope not. To have another means more killing. More blood. There's been enough. Time to try and save lives. Lives are very important things. Death doesn't prove anything. You're just gone. Most don't remember. Most don't care. Some, but not most. It's time for everyone to become peaceful -- Peace, love to all."

3. "The Holocaust should have been prevented, of course, but the idea of wiping out something is a good one, such as putting that kind of energy into wiping out pollution or crime."

4. "If the Nazi's tried to take me into a camp, they wouldn't be able to without a fight. I'd scream, kick, rant and rave. When in a concen-

Content Analysis Discussion (Continued)

4. tration camp, I would be vicious and express my hatred towards the Nazi's and Hitler. I would never bow down to them nor praise them even if it cost me my life. I would rather die with my dignity and knowing that I did all I could to fight for what I believed in than praise the Nazi's and bow down to them."

5. "I think I would rather have died than allow myself to be humiliated and crushed...But my ambition, I know, would not let my body nor my soul especially, give way to the cruel treatment I would have endured. This trait will, I know, keep me alive and struggling."

6. "I am caring. I hate to see animals being killed and other innocent people being killed. This would affect me. I don't think I would care anymore and I would be sick to my stomach."

7. "...I wouldn't be generous anymore. I would have to care about myself more than others in order to survive."

Content Analysis Discussion (Continued)

8. "...instead of trying to help others get decent clothes and food, I would probably want it for myself. But it could also make me help others even more than I used to. I guess you never really know how you would act unless you were really there."

9. "I would try not to hurt others like I've been hurt in the camp. Most of all I will treat everyone all as human beings like myself and not be prejudice against other people because of their religion, color or race, as Hitler did to my people."

10. "...I would probably get killed within the first week of being there simply because I hate taking orders and most of the time I ignore them...I would simply go crazy if I had to live, first of all, in fear for my life, second, with someone always cracking on me, with a crowd of other people in the same room, and last, under constant surveillance. I really think that living in a

Content Analysis Discussion (Continued)

10. concentration camp would be the worst thing that could ever happen to me."

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

ZACHOR: A project of the National Jewish Resource Center.

The Holocaust shattered the previous political, philosophical, theological and ethical models of the Jewish people and of humanity in general. The implications we derive from this event must be incorporated into Jewish life and religion, as well as into the history and consciousness of America.

After many years of silence and unwillingness to confront the Holocaust's history and repercussions, this past decade has seen a growing awareness of and a new interest in learning more about this event. At the same time, a new generation of neo-Nazis seeks to deny that the Holocaust ever took place.

ZACHOR: The Holocaust Resource Center represents a major attempt to stimulate, deepen and coordinate the growing consciousness of the Holocaust. Jews have always incorporated the central events of their history into their learning, liturgy, ethics, religion and cultural life. Gentiles and all people of good will must join in this task so that American culture and Christianity will learn about the Holocaust and help insure that such destruction will never again be allowed to happen.

Zachor! means "Remember!" By teaching ourselves and others about the Holocaust, by infusing content relating to it in every area of our lives, our commitment to renewal will triumph over evil and indifference.

THE RECORD OF ZACHOR

- Instrumental in planned creation of major Holocaust Memorial Centers in Washington and New York and in communities throughout North America.

- Helping establish YOM HASHOAH (HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY) as the central day of commemoration in the Jewish calendar and throughout the United States, especially through collection and development of prayer, liturgy and ritual for Holocaust commemoration.

PUBLICATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL AIDS

- SHOAH: A Journal of Resources on the Holocaust.

- WITNESS TO THE HOLOCAUST: seven teaching films (12-18 minutes each) with study guides combining documentary films and narration by survivors; uniquely powerful films, designed to communicate what happened and to elicit discussion of the issues and implications (available July 1982).

- A GUIDE TO PROGRAMMING ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST. The most comprehensive guide available, including bibliographies, filmographies, etc. (available June 1982).

ASSESSMENTS AND CONSULTATION

- Assessment of curricula in use in Holocaust education.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

· Planning and programming for formal and informal adult education, including conferences, workshops, seminars, lecture series and retreats.

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

· Sponsoring scholarly conferences on the theological and ethical implications of the Holocaust.

· Sponsoring ZACHOR FACULTY SEMINAR exploring research on the frontiers of scholarship about the Holocaust.

· Co-sponsoring and/or participating in conferences and seminars at the community level on the Holocaust's implications for religion, education, culture, law, medicine, and other areas.

· Organized First International Conference of the Children of Survivors (1979) to stimulate the formation of a network of second generation groups so that the children may take up the task of witness begun by the survivors.

PROFESSIONAL STAFF RESOURCES

· Providing scholars, guest speakers, lecturers, educational and media consultants.

· Training Jewish and other religious and communal professionals.

BOOKS

· Confronting the Holocaust: The Work of Elie Wiesel (Indiana University Press, 1979)

· Judaism and Christianity After the Holocaust: the Next Step (forthcoming)

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